THE

DISCOVERY OF CEYLON BY THE PORTUGUESE IN 1506.

BY

DONALD FERGUSON.

(Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, vol. xix., no. 59, 1907.)

COLOMBO: 1908.

Halford L. Hoskins
1924

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
General Meeting: May 30, 1907	283
Paper read:—	
"The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506," by DONALD FERGUSON	284
Discussion on the Paper	385

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

CEYLON BRANCH.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 30, 1907.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
The Hon. Mr. P. Arunachalam, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. T. P. Attygalle, J.P.
Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M.
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Rev. W. J. Wijesinha.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: four ladies and twelve gentlemen.

Business.

1. Mr. Joseph, Honorary Secretary, read the Minutes of the General Meeting held on March 15, 1907, which were confirmed.

2. The election since the last General Meeting of the following members was announced:—Messrs. H. F. C. Fyers (Assistant Conservator of Forests), P. A. Goonaratna (Proctor), T. E. Goonaratna, W. T. D. C. Wagiswara, Rev. R. P. Butterfield, Messrs. S. G. Koch, T. Harward (Second Assistant P.M.G.), L. S. Woolf, B.A., C.C.S., M. A. C. Mohamed, James Hornell, A. H. Fernando, and A. E. Roberts (Proctor).

3. Mr. C. M. Fernando read the following Paper by Mr. Donald Ferguson, entitled "The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506":—

THE DISCOVERY OF CEYLON BY THE PORTUGUESE IN 1506.

By DONALD FERGUSON.

A nobre ilha tambem de Taprobana,
Já pelo nome antiguo tão famosa,
Quanto agora soberba e soberana,
Pela cortiça calida, cheirosa,
Della dara tributo á Lusitana
Bandeira, quando excelsa, e gloriosa,
Vencendo, se erguerá na torre erguida
Em Columbo, dos proprios tão temida.

CAMÕES, *Lusiadas* x. 51.

THE first landing of the Portuguese in Ceylon has been the subject of so much confusion and misstatement, even on the part of writers within half a century after its occurrence, that I have thought it worth while, in connection with the quatercentenary of the event, to gather together the earliest accounts of Dom Lourenço de Almeida's visit to the island and any documents that throw light thereon. These will be found in Appendix B at the end of this Paper. In Appendix A I have given all the references to Ceylon that I could find, from the time of Vasco da Gama's pioneer visit to India, in 1498, to the year before the news of the "discovery" of Ceylon reached Portugal. Finally, in Appendix C I have given all references to Ceylon from the first Portuguese landing down to the year 1518, when Lopo Soares erected the first fortress at Columbo. All these extracts are arranged, as far as possible. in chronological order. My reasons for giving those in Appendices A and B I shall explain further on.

Tennent's well-known work has obtained such a high reputation (and deservedly so), that it is most unfortunate that the chapter dealing with the Portuguese period in Ceylon (vol. II., chap. i.) is marred by many errors, chiefly due to the author's ignorance of the Portuguese language. The paragraphs relating to Dom Lourenço's visit contain (with

DOM MANUEL THE FORTUNATE, KING OF PORTUGAL, 1495–1521.

From "Leitura Nova" (1° de Alemdouro) in the Torre do Tombo.
(The signature is that of the King, "Rey.")

(From "A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama," by kind permission of the Hakluyt Society.)

misspellings of names) almost as many mistakes as lines. They are as follows* :—

The Portuguese had been nearly twenty years in India before they took steps to obtain a footing in Ceylon. [A very misleading statement.] Vasco de [*sic*] Gama, after rounding the Cape, anchored at Calicut A.D. 1498, and Lorenzo [*sic*] de Almeyda visited Galle [?] in 1505 [?]; but it was not till 1517 [1518] that Lopez [*sic*] Soarez, the third viceroy [*sic*] of the Indies, bethought himself [?] of sending an expedition to form a permanent trading settlement [?] at Colombo;† and so little importance did the Portuguese attach to the acquisition [?] that within a very few years an order (which was not acted upon) [?] was issued from Goa [?] to abandon [demolish] the fort as not worth the cost of retention.

The first appearance of the Portuguese flag in the waters of Ceylon, in the year 1505 [?], was the result of an accident [?]. The profitable trade previously conducted by the Moors, of carrying the spices of Malacca and Sumatra to Cambay and Bassora, having been effectually cut off by the Portuguese cruisers, the Moorish ships were compelled to take a wide course through the Maldives, and pass south of Ceylon, to escape capture. [In going from Malacca to the Persian Gulf ships would have to pass Ceylon *before* going through the Maldives.] Don [*sic*] Francisco de Almeyda, the viceroy of India, despatched a fleet from Goa [!], under command of his son, Lorenzo [*sic*], to intercept the Moors on their route. Wandering over unknown seas [?], he was unexpectedly carried by the current to the harbour of Galle [?], where he found Moorish ships loading with cinnamon and elephants. The owners, alarmed for their own safety, attempted to deceive him by the assertion that Galle was the residence of Dharma Prakrama IX. [*sic*] [?], the king of Ceylon, under whose protection they professed to be trading; and by whom, they further assured him, they were authorised to propose a treaty of peace and commerce with the Portuguese, and to compliment their Commander by a royal gift of four hundred bahars of cinnamon. They even conducted Payo de Souza, the lieutenant of Lorenzo Almeyda [*sic*], to an interview with a native who personated the Singhalese monarch [?], and who promised him permission to erect a factory at Colombo [?]. Don Lorenzo [*sic*], though aware of the deception [?], found it prudent to dissemble, and again put to sea after erecting a stone cross [?] at Point de Galle [?] to record the event of his arrival.

* After each error I have inserted a note in brackets.

† To this Tennent appends a long footnote, which I quote below.

It is only fair to Tennent to say that for some of the statements to which I have appended query marks, &c., he has the authority of Barros, the official historian of Portuguese India ; but a large number are due to misunderstanding of, or wrong deductions from, the Portuguese accounts ; while the misspellings can only be attributed to sheer carelessness.

Another example of Tennent's reasoning from wrong premises is found in the long footnote to which I have referred above. It runs as follows :—

This fact is not without significance in relation to the claim of Ceylon to a "natural monopoly" of the finest qualities of cinnamon.* Its existence as a production of the island had been made known to Europe by Di Conti, seventy years before ; and Ibn Batúta asserts that Malabar had been supplied with cinnamon from Ceylon at a still earlier period. It may therefore be inferred that there can have been nothing very remarkable in the quality or repute of the spice at the beginning of the sixteenth century [?] ; else the Portuguese, who had been mainly attracted to the East by the fame of its spices, would have made their earliest visit to the country which afterwards acquired its renown by producing the rarest of them :

"canella
Com que Ceilão he rica, illustre, e bella."
Camoens, canto ix. st. 14.

On the contrary, their first inquiries were for *pepper*, and their chief resort was to the Dekkan, north of Cape Comorin, which was celebrated for producing it. (*Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, ch. iv. s. i. p. 77.) [The work referred to says nothing about the Dekhan, &c.] It was not till 1516 that Barbosa proclaimed the superiority of Ceylon cinnamon over all others [?], and there is reason to believe, whatever doubt there may be as to its early introduction into the island, that its high reputation is comparatively modern, and attributable to the attention bestowed upon its preparation for market by the Portuguese [?], and afterwards in its cultivation by the Dutch. De Barros, however, goes so far as to describe Ceylon as *the Mother of Cinnamon*, "canella de que ella he madre como dissemos."—Dec. III. lib. ii. ch. i. [The taking over of the last two words in the quotation is, I think, a proof of Tennent's ignorance of Portuguese.]

* This subject is dealt with by Tennent in a very lengthy note on pp. 600–4 of vol. I. of his work (5th ed.).

A third misstatement of Tennent's is contained in the opening sentence of the paragraph that immediately follows that given above, describing the landing of Dom Lourenço, viz., "Twelve years elapsed before the Portuguese again visited Ceylon."

The inaccuracy of Tennent's conclusions on both points, viz., the notoriety of Ceylon cinnamon at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the intercourse of the Portuguese with Ceylon between 1506 and 1518, is abundantly demonstrated by the extracts given in Appendices A and C respectively.

The earliest accounts of Ceylon written after Vasco da Gama's pioneer voyage are remarkable for the variety of spellings of the name of the island and the differing estimates of the distance at which the latter lay from Calicut. But they nearly all agree in attributing to Ceylon the production of elephants, gems, and *the finest cinnamon.* "Then," I hear the shade of Tennent say, "the conduct of the Portuguese becomes still more inexplicable. If they knew that the finest cinnamon was produced only in Ceylon, why did they not go thither and load their ships with the more costly spice rather than with the cheaper pepper?" Well, there were several very good reasons why the Portuguese acted as they did. In the first place, it must be remembered that, though they came to the East professedly as peaceful traders, on finding the hated "Moors" in possession of the bulk of the Eastern sea-borne trade, they set to work to oust them, not by competition, but by the strong hand, piracy and brutal massacre being considered matters for self-gratulation on the part of their commanders. Naturally then, with their small fleets and limited forces, they had to extend the field of their operations gradually. In the second place, as will be seen from some of the extracts I give, the Portuguese ships were able to get supplies of cinnamon at Calicut and Cochin, brought thither by native vessels from Ceylon. But the main reason is to be found in the statement of Albuquerque in his letter of 4 November 1510, quoted below, viz., "The pepper supplies the loadings of the ships; all the rest of the other goods is superfluity." One has only to consider for a moment the relative importance of the two spices as articles of consumption to understand why

the Portuguese assigned to cinnamon a secondary position.* Then, again, while bales of cinnamon had to be handled and stowed carefully, pepper was one of the easiest† cargoes to load, being simply poured into every available space of the ship, the spaces being then closed up.‡

But all this must not lead us to suppose that the Portuguese were not anxious to open up a direct trade with Ceylon as soon as possible. We may be quite sure that King Manuel had had it in his mind for some years,§ when in March 1505, in his instructions to Dom Francisco de Almeida,|| who was going out to become the first viceroy of Portuguese India, he gave the latter a distinct command that, as soon as possible after the dispatch of the homeward-bound ships, he was to send out vessels under a suitable commander "*to discover Ceylam*, and Pegu and Mallaca, and any other places and things of those parts," with the object, stated in so many words, of exercising the right of overlordship, and making all

* Pepper, I may remind the reader, was from the first reserved by the king of Portugal as a royal monopoly: this restriction was abolished in 1570. A royal monopoly in cinnamon was not proclaimed until the year 1614: this privilege was lost to the crown of Portugal when Columbo fell to the Dutch in 1656, the Netherlands East India Company retaining it strictly until they were ousted from the island by the British in 1796.

† And one of the most dangerous; for if a gale was encountered, and the ship sprang a leak, the pepper often choked the pumps, rendering them unworkable.

‡ See Linschoten (Hak. Soc. ed.) ii. 225.

§ The statement in the letter from "the merchants of Spain," written probably at the end of 1503, and quoted below (A 15), doubtless reflects the royal desire.

|| A portrait of Dom Francisco, reproduced from Pedro Barreto de Resende's *Livro do Estado da India Oriental* (Brit. Mus. Lib., Sloane 197), is given in volume ii. of the Hakluyt Soc. translation of the *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*. A copy of this is given on the opposite page. A biographical notice of the viceroy by M. Ferd. Denis will be found in tom. 2 of the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, but it is not free from errors. Castanheda, Barros, and Correa all unite in ascribing to Dom Francisco a high moral character and a freedom from the common greed of gain. It cannot be wondered at that he had many enemies. His treatment of his appointed successor Albuquerque is described in the *Com.* i. and ii., and in Morse Stephens's *Albuquerque*. An account of his sad end at Saldanha Bay will be found in Theal's *Beginning of South African History* 177-79.

DOM FRANCISCO DE ALMEIDA.

Copied from the Hakluyt Society's "Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque" ii. 48.

the profit possible out of the products of those countries.* A year later we shall find the king urging on his viceroy a still more ambitious scheme regarding Ceylon; but we must now follow Almeida to India, and see how he fulfilled his instruction to "discover Ceylam."†

On 25 March 1505, D. Francisco de Almeida set sail from Belem for India with the largest fleet that had yet left Portugal for the East. It consisted of some twenty‡ vessels large and small, bearing some fifteen hundred men of arms, among whom were many fidalgos, as well as several hundred sailors, gunners, &c. Some of these vessels were to return to Portugal the following year with the cargoes of spices; but the larger number, chiefly the caravels and smaller ships, were intended to act as a defensive (and offensive) fleet in Indian waters. The names of the captains, and of their

---

* See A 19. I shall return to this important document later on.

† It may be as well to say here, in view of certain foolish objections that have been raised by writers on Ceylon to the Portuguese claim to have "discovered" the famous island, that the verb "discover" was used in this connection in the sense of "to bring into fuller knowledge, to explore," and not in that of "to obtain sight or knowledge of (something previously unknown) for the first time" (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v. "Discover," senses 8 and 9).

‡ Barros says 22 (12 to return with spices), but names only 20 captains. Castanheda says 15 ships and 6 caravels, but also names only 20 captains. Correa says 8 large cargo ships, 6 small ships, and 6 caravels, but names 21 captains. The *Relação das Náos* (quoted in *Com. of Af. Dalb.* ii. xxix.-xxxi.) says 14 ships and 6 caravels; but in one list names 22 captains, and in another 20. Figueiredo Falcão enumerates 21 captains; but he mixes up this fleet with the following one, and his numbers are all wrong. Couto (X. I. xvi.) says 21 ships, of which 6 were caravels to remain in India. Hans Mayr (who was factor on the *S. Rafael*) says 20 sail, viz., 14 ships and 6 caravels; while Balthazar Sprenger (who was factor on the *Lionarda*) says "naves xxx.," this number perhaps being an error for "xx." Leonardo Ca' Masser says that Dom Francisco was in command of 30 sail great and small, one of which, the *Nuncià*, was lost at the mouth of the Tagus; but when he comes to enumerate the different kinds of vessels in the fleet he says that there were 14 ships of from 1,000 to 300 *bote* (tons), 71 (*sic*, for 7 ?) caravels of from 200 to 150 *bote*, and 7 other caravels of from 80 to 100 *bote*. It is probable that these last two writers have included the six ships under Pero da Nhaya, which were to have accompanied D. Francisco's armada as far as Sofala, but were prevented at the last moment by the sinking of the *Sant-Iago* (see Barros I. IX. vi.).

ships, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are as follows :—

D. Francisco de Almeida, captain-major [in the *Bom Jesus** ?];
Vasco Gomes de Abreu,† in the *São Gabriel* ;
João da Nova,‡ in the *Flor de la mar*§ ;
Pero Ferreira Fogaça,|| in the *Bella* ;
Ruy Freire¶ [in the *São Jeronimo*** ?] ;
Fernão Soares,†† in the *São Rafael* ;
Bastião de Sousa,‡‡ in the *Concepção* ;

---

* So says Fig. Falcão (the *Rel. das Nãos* has "*Jesus*"), who adds that she returned to Portugal on 1 June 1508. But, as I have already shown, Fig. Falcão's earlier lists are very incorrect, and his dates are quite unreliable. Moreover, I can find no mention by the historians of such a ship ; while, on the other hand, Barros (I. IX. iv.) states that the viceroy's ship was the *S. Jeronimo*. It is probable, therefore, that there was no *Bom Jesus* in the fleet, or that this was the name first given to the *S. Jeronimo*.

† Cast. says that this man was to cruise as captain-major between Cape Goardafum and Cambaya ; Cor. says as captain-major at Cape Guardafuy. See below regarding him.

‡ Commander of the third voyage to India in 1501 (see A 8, *infra*). Afterwards notorious as one of Albuquerque's bitterest enemies (see *Com. of Af. Dalb.* and Morse Stephens's *Albuquerque, passim*). Cast. says that he was to cruise as captain-major from Cambaya to Cape Comorim ; Cor. says from Cape Comorim to the Maldives, and, by a secret *alvará*, if he wished, he was to remain as captain-major on the coast of India (see *infra*).

§ The famous ship afterwards used by Albuquerque, and lost, with all the rich loot on board, on the return voyage from Malacca in 1512 (see *Com. of Áf. Dalb.*).

|| This man was going as captain of the fortress that was to be built at Quiloa (see below).

¶ I cannot find why this man was given the command of what was, apparently, the admiral of the fleet.

** This ship, the *S. Rafael*, and the *Lionarda* were owned by Germans, and two, at least, had German factors on board (see p. 292, note §).

†† This man was a *commendador* of the order of Avis, and, as we shall see further on, has been confused by the historians with another *commendador*, Ruy Soares.

‡‡ Son of Ruy d'Abreu, *alcaide mór* of Elvas. Twenty years later we read of him as still commanding a ship.

Antão Gonçalves* [in the *Judia*† ?];
Diogo Correa,‡ in the *Lionarda*;
Lopo de Deos§ [in the *Madalena* ?];
João Serrão|| [in the *Botafogo*].

Doubtful captaincies :—D. Alvaro de Noronha, Lourenço de Brito, Manuel Paçanha.¶

D. Fernando Deça,**
Fernão (or Alonso) Bermudez,††
Lopo Sanches,
Gonçalo de Paiva,‡‡
Lucas d'Affonseca,
Lopo Chanoca,§§
} In caravels.

---

* He was *alcaide*, or judge, of Cezimbra, and was probably son of the man of the same name who was one of Prince Henry's pioneer captains half a century before.

† This name, by a natural error, appears as *India* in several works.

‡ Regarding this man see p. 296, note †.

§ Cast. and Cor. and one of the lists in the *Rel. das Nâos* omit this name, but the last two have a "Lopo de Goes Henriques," which may represent the same person. The *Rel. das Nâos* (list 1) and Fig. Falcão describe Lopo de Deos as "captain and pilot," but Barros, probably correctly, prefixes the "pilot" to the name of João Serrão, who was, in fact, a famous pilot (see Sousa Viterbo's *Trabalhas Nauticas* i. 284–87).

|| Correa and list 1 of the *Rel. das Nâos* have, erroneously, "Diogo Serrão."

¶ Cor. and the *Rel. das Nâos* give these names. These men were going out as captains of the fortresses at Cochin, Cananor, and Anjadiva respectively.

** Couto calls him "D. Francisco de Sá."

†† A Castilian fidalgo. Cor. omits his name. The *Rel. das Nâos* calls him "Alonso Bermundes," Fig. Falcão "Fernão Bernardes," Cast. "Fernão Bermudez," Barros "Bermum Dias," and Couto "Bartholomeu Dias." He is mentioned by the last two writers as in command of a *taforea*, a kind of transport vessel.

‡‡ Couto has "Gonsalo Pereira."

§§ Cast. appends to his name the appellative "the Big." He accompanied Dom Lourenço in the pioneer expedition to Ceylon (see B 2 and B 8).

João Homem,* | In caravels.
Gonçalo Vaz de Goes,†
Antão Vaz,
Felipe Rodriguez,‡

The details of the voyage§ need not detain us. Suffice it to say that, ten days after leaving, the *Bella* sprang a leak and foundered, all on board and most of the cargo being saved and distributed among the other ships; that Quiloa on the African coast was stormed and captured, a new king placed on the throne, and a fortress built, of which Pero Ferreira Fogaça was made captain, with other officials and a garrison of 150 men, while Gonçalo Vaz de Goes with his caravel and a brigantine was left to guard the coast; that then Mombaça was stormed and burnt, D. Fernando Deça being wounded by a poisoned arrow, from which he died a few days later;|| and that on 27 August the fleet¶ set sail from the coast of Africa for India.

---

* A cavalier of the feather-brained type (see Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India* 106). On account of his indiscretions in India he was soon deprived of the command of his caravel, the *São Jorge*, which was given to Nuno Vaz Pereira.

† Correa omits this name. Bar. has in two places "Boes," but elsewhere "Goes." Cast. has "Goyos." Couto calls him "Gonsalo Gil de Goes."

‡ Cast., Cor., and Couto are the only ones that include this man's name in their lists. The first mentions him as in command of the *Spera* (*Esphera*), as does Barros later.

§ In addition to the accounts of the historians—Castanheda, Barros, and Correa—there have come down to us several contemporary narratives of the voyage. One is by Balthazar Sprenger, who was supercargo on board the *Lionarda*, and another is by Hans Mayr, who was factory clerk on the *S. Rafael*. For details of these and other narratives see Henry Harrisse's most valuable book *Americus Vespuccius*, to which I am greatly indebted. There is also a description of the voyage (with many lacunæ) by Pero Fernandes Tinoco in a letter to King Manuel printed in *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* ii. 335–41; and a shorter one by Gaspar da India in *Cartas* iii. 200–4. The best account in English is that in Theal's *Beginning of South African History* 165–73.

|| The command of his vessel (the *S. Miguel?*) was thereupon given to Rodrigo Rabelo, a cavalier of the royal household.

¶ Of 14 sail, says Barros.

On 13 September the bulk of the fleet* reached its objective, the island of Anjadiva† on the west coast of India, where King Manuel had ordered a fortress to be built.‡ This work was begun on the 14th; and by the 16th of October, the fort being capable of defence, the viceroy (who had meanwhile been in communication with the Portuguese factors at Cananor, Cochin, and Coulam) left for Onor (Honáwar), which town he destroyed in order to punish the raja for an act of supposed bad faith. On the 18th the fleet sailed for Cananor, which was reached on the 22nd. Here Dom Francisco received an embassy from the king of Narsinga, and, with the permission of the raja, the building of a fortress on the Cananor point was begun. On the 27th the fleet left for Cochin, where it arrived on the 30th, and learnt that, owing to the rash conduct of João Homem, the factor and other Portuguese at Coulam had all been burnt to death by the Moors of Calecut. Consequently the viceroy sent his son Dom Lourenço§ with most of the ships to avenge this murder; but, finding it impossible to land, Dom Lourenço bombarded the town, burnt all the Moorish vessels in the port, and returned

---

* The missing captains arrived a few days later, except Lucas d'Affonseca, who wintered in Moçambique, and did not reach India until May 1506 (see below), and Lopo Sanches, whose vessel was lost near Cape Correntes, he and most of his company subsequently perishing at sea or on land.

† Off the coast of Kanara, a little south of Karwar (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Anchediva, Anjediva"). An illustrated description of the island, by Mr. F. J. Varley, I.C.S., appeared in the *Geographical Journal* for April 1904, 491–96.

‡ *Cf.* A 24, *infra*.

§ Dom Lourenço de Almeida was the viceroy's only son (he had also one daughter, who married twice), and was of great stature and strength, though still under twenty years of age. He was very dexterous with the halberd; and Correa records various instances of his prowess, one of which will be found in the extract B 10 below. His name will always be associated with the "discovery" of Ceylon; and his deeds and early death have been sung in immortal verse by Camoens (*Lusiadas* x. 26–32). A short biographical notice of him, by M. Ferd. Denis, will be found in tom. 2 of the *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* No portrait of Dom Lourenço appears to be extant.

to Cochin. After the return of his son, the viceroy, with great ceremony, presented the new raja of Cochin with a gold crown that had been sent to him by the king of Portugal.

The ships that were to return home now began taking in their cargoes of pepper and other commodities; and as each was loaded she left for Cananor, where the loading was completed. As the times of the departure of these vessels for Portugal have an important bearing upon the question of the date of the "discovery" of Ceylon by D. Lourenço de Almeida, I have been at some trouble to collate the varying statements of the different authorities. According to Castanheda (ii. cap. xxi.), on 26 November 1505 Fernão Soares left Cochin as captain-major of seven ships (unnamed), the other captains being Bastião de Sousa, Ruy Freire, Manuel Telles, Antão Gonçalves, Diogo Correa, Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, and Diogo Fernandes Correa. These ships were becalmed for three days off Calicut (to the great alarm of its populace, who feared an attack), and then put in to Cananor, whence they sailed on 2 January 1506, and, passing round the outer side of Madagascar, reached Lisbon on 23 May 1506. On the other hand, Barros (I. IX. v.) says that six ships (unnamed) left Cochin during the whole of December 1505, these being divided between two captains-major,* viz., Bastião de Sousa with Manuel Telles and Diogo Fernandes Correa, and Fernão Soares with Diogo Correa and Antão Gonçalves. Of the first three we are told only that they reached home safely; but to the second three is credited the honour of being the first to discover the southern part of Madagascar;† and the date of their arrival in Portugal is given as 23 May 1506. Correa's statements are a mixture of fact and fiction, his dates being generally untrustworthy. Fortunately we are able, by the aid of contemporary documents, to ascertain the names of most of the ships and the dates of their departure from India and arrival at Lisbon. That one or two left Cochin for Cananor in November is possible, but most of them left the former port for the latter in December and

* See footnote * on p. 295. † See p. 316, note §.

January, as we learn from a letter to the king from Gaspar Pereira, the chief secretary at Cochin, printed in the *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* ii. 354–69. When they sailed from Cananor, and when they arrived at Lisbon, we know from the narratives of the two Germans mentioned in a footnote above, and from the statements of Italians who were in Portugal when the ships reached home, or had their information from correspondents there. From a comparison of these authorities it would appear that on 2 January 1506 Fernão Soares left Cananor for Portugal in charge of a fleet of five* ships, viz., the *S. Rafael* (commanded by himself), the *S. Jeronimo* (Ruy Freire, captain), the *Botafogo*† (Manuel Telles,‡ captain ?), the *Judia* (Antão Gonçalves, captain), and the *Concepção* (Bastião de Sousa, captain). The first four of these arrived at Rastello on

---

* In his instructions from the king the viceroy was commanded that as soon as three ships were loaded they were to be dispatched for home under a captain-major, and so with each succeeding three (see *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 299). Why five were sent under Fernão Soares does not appear.

† João Serrão, who had come out as captain of this ship, remained in India in command of a galley. Varthema tells us that it was in João Serrão's galley that D. Lourenço sent him to the viceroy at Cochin, and he also mentions the execution wrought amongst the Moors in the sea fight in March 1506 by "a very valiant captain Ioan Sarrano." According to Cor., João Serrão was killed with D. Lourenço at Chaul in January 1508; but it is doubtful if he was even present, and it was probably he who in 1510 was sent by the king to explore Madagascar, and who was so useful to Albuquerque in his expedition to the Red Sea.

‡ Lopo Soares, the historians tell us, before leaving India for Portugal in January 1505, formed a small coastguard fleet under the command of Manuel Telles to remain behind. If, as seems certain, this was the captain-major of the coastguard fleet, he was one of the few Portuguese that escaped the general massacre at Coulam in October 1505 (see above). Regarding his name the historians are at variance. Barros confidently asserts that he was "Manuel Telles Barreto, son of Affonso Telles Barreto," whereas Castanheda calls him "Manuel Telez de Vasconcelos," and Correa "Manuel Telles de Vascogoncellos." That these two writers are correct, and that Barros is wrong, is evident from the fact that (as Barros himself states) Manuel Telles Barreto left Lisbon with Tristão da Cunha's fleet in March or April 1506, while this Manuel Telles did not reach Lisbon until 22 May. This confusion of men with similar names is exemplified in the case of two other captains referred to below (p. 296, note †).

22 May 1506, and the last reached Lisbon on 3 June.* Meanwhile a second fleet of three ships had left Cananor for Portugal on 21 January, viz., the *Lionarda* (Diogo Correa,† captain), another ship the name of which I cannot find‡ (Gonçalo Gil Barbosa,§ captain ?), and the *Madalena* (Diogo Fernandes Correa,|| captain). Of these, the first two reached Lisbon on 15 November 1506,¶ but the last, after a de-

---

* Leon. Ca' Masser, in recording the arrivals of these five ships, says that two were on the king's account, two German (a Florentine, Bartolo, participating), and one of "Fernando dalla Rogna, cristian nuovo." He details their cargoes, and describes the ships as "la nave Capitana del Re," "la nave *Concezion* del Re," "nave *Buonfuogo* de marcadanti," "la nave de Ferando [*sic*] dalla Rogna," and another "nave de marcadanti." There seems to be an error here, as we know that the *S. Rafael* and *S. Jeronimo* were owned by Germans. It is also difficult to know which ship is referred to as "la nave Capitana." From what the writer says elsewhere it would appear that Fernando de Loronha, or Noronha, the "converted" Jew, was a wealthy shipowner doing a large business. (We shall come across him again later on.) According to Harrisse (*Amer. Vesp.* 35), Girolamo Priuli, 9 July 1506, on the authority of a letter received from Genoa, refers to the "charavelle che gionseno questo Mazo passato, che forono quatro," and mentions news received that "altre 4 charavelle o ver nave erano gionte in Portogallo a li 26 di Zugno, venute del viazo de l'India," and describes the cargo. The "news" must have grown on the journey, for only one ship, not four, arrived on 26 June.

† All the authorities call this man simply "Diogo Correa," and Cast. and Bar. describe him as son of Frei Payo Correa. He must be distinguished from the Diogo Fernandes Correa mentioned below, and from a Diogo Mendes Correa referred to later on.

‡ It may have been one of those left behind by Lopo Soares.

§ As mentioned above, Cast. alone of the historians names this man among the captains of the homeward fleet. He was factor at Cananor, having been appointed to that office by Vasco da Gama in January 1503. By his instructions from the king, the viceroy was ordered to send this man and Diogo Fernandes Correa (see next note), with their clerks, &c., home by the returning ships, of two of which they were to be given the captaincies (*Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 326).

|| *Alcaide mór* and factor at Cochin, for which office he had come out in Vasco da Gama's fleet in 1502, when, according to Correa, he commanded the *S. Rafael* (see *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* 281). According to Gaspar Pereira's letter to King Manuel in *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* (p. 369), the king of Cochin was moved to tears at losing Diogo Fernandes.

¶ As we learn from the narrative of Balthazar Sprenger, who was on board the *Lionarda*.

tention at Moçambique, where she had to unload and repair, did not arrive at Lisbon until early in 1507 probably.*

Had the "discovery" of Ceylon taken place before these ships sailed for Portugal ? Castanheda alone of the historians says that it had. According to him (see B 8), it was in November 1505 that the viceroy dispatched his son to the Maldives, which failing to reach, he was carried to Ceylon.† Had Dom Francisco so acted, he would have been guilty of a breach of the king's instructions, according to which he was to send out expeditions of discovery *after* the dispatch of the cargo ships for Portugal (see A 19). Castanheda does not give the exact date of Dom Lourenço's return from Ceylon, but leaves us to infer that it occurred at the end of January or beginning of February 1506; and he further states that very soon afterward the viceroy appointed his son captain-major of the sea, and sent him with an armada to visit the fortresses of Cananor and

---

* These eight ships were, it seems certain, all that the viceroy dispatched as the regular homeward cargo fleet. In the *Diarii di Marino Sanuto* (vi. 363), however, under date 26 June 1506, are given *Memoriale de la novelle, che son venute per le quatro nave, che veneno de India e intrarno in Lisbona, veneri, a di* 22 *de mazo* 1506, which state : "Item : that the said four ships came all very well laden with spices, as much as they could carry, and the others of this company, which are five, remained, at the time that these left, dispatched and loaded for leaving, because our lord the king has ordered that they should come in two sets this year, and they will be here, God willing, very soon. And all these ships are of the company that Don Francesco d'Almeda, viceroy of India, took." It is probable that in the "five" spoken of by the writer are included the two subsequently dispatched (see below).

† It will be noticed that Antonio Galvão (see B 11, *infra*) very cautiously says that it was "at the end of this year [1505], or at the beginning of the next," that the viceroy sent his son to the Maldive islands. As a matter of fact, however, it was neither at the end of 1505 nor at the beginning of 1506 that Dom Lourenço set out, as we shall see presently. If Castanheda's statement had been correct, it would have been confirmed by the viceroy's letter to the king, written from Cochin on 16 December 1505 (see *Alguns Documentos* &c. 142); but this is not the case. From Gaspar Pereira's letter of 18 December 1505–12 January 1506 (*Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 354–69), it seems that the viceroy sent Lopo Chanoca and Nuno Vaz Pereira in December to the river of Chitua (Chetvai) to prevent the Moorish boats from carrying on trade, and that a severe fight took place off Ponani. This may be the expedition which Castanheda has confused with the one to the Maldives.

Anjadiva and to cruise up and down the Malabar coast in order to prevent the sailing thence of any Moorish vessels with spicery. After thus sending off Dom Lourenço, the viceroy (says Castanhedà) in February dispatched João da Nova and Vasco Gomes de Abreu for Portugal in their ships (the *Flor de la mar* and the *S. Gabriel*), in one or other of which he loaded the cinnamon brought by D. Lourenço from Ceylon, sending also by Vasco Gomes as a present to King Manuel an elephant, presumably from Ceylon.* That these two men sailed from India for Portugal in February is confirmed by Barros (I.IX.V.),† and that they carried cinnamon and an elephant is possible;‡ but these had absolutely no connection with any expedition to Ceylon, none having as yet taken place. Only one of these ships, the *S. Gabriel*, reached Portugal, at the end of 1506 or beginning of 1507;§ the *Flor de la mar* was prevented by storms from passing the Cape, and had to put back to Zanzibar,

---

* Cor. also (see B 10, *infra*) mentions the sending of the elephant, which, he says, was one of two brought from Ceylon by Dom Lourenço; but his statements are not to be depended upon.

† Both Cast. and Bar. write as though their departure took place in an ordinary way; but Cor. (i. 615–18) ascribes it to their dissatisfaction at not being incharged with fleets to cruise at Cape Gardafu and Cape Comorin respectively. I believe that Cor. is, to some extent at least, correct; for these two men had evidently gone out in the expectation of being appointed to some commands at sea or on land (see paragraph in Almeida's instructions, *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 330). In his letter of March or April 1506 (*Cartas* iii. 268–76), the king requests that João da Nova be appointed captain-major of the fleet to be left at Malacca, and that Vasco Gomes de Abreu succeed Manuel Paçanha as captain of Anjadiva.

‡ The only thing that we know they did carry was ninety quintals of pepper of unknown ownership found in the fort at Cochin (see *Cartas* ii. 396–97).

§ I cannot find any record of the exact date (Fig. Falcão says "5 May 1508"!). In a letter to the king, dated 22 December 1505, Pedro Ferreira Fogaça, captain of Quiloa, mentions having sent necessaries for the voyage to Vasco Gomes at Moçambique, but no date is given in the summary printed in *Alg. Doc.* 157. However, the *S. Gabriel* must have reached Lisbon not later than the beginning of 1507, for in April of that year Vasco Gomes de Abreu sailed for Sofala to assume the captaincy of that place, an honour he did not long enjoy, a mysterious death soon overtaking him (see Theal's *Beg. of S. A. History* 196–200).

whence, after a stay of eight months, she proceeded to the Angosha islands, and then to Moçambique,* where, in February 1507, Tristão da Cunha found João da Nova,† and annexed him and his ship to his fleet.‡ Had Vasco Gomes de Abreu been the bearer of such important tidings as that Ceylon had been "discovered," it is certain that King Manuel would not have waited some nine or ten months before informing the pope and college of cardinals of the fact (*cf.* B 3, B 4, *infra*).

However Dom Lourenço de Almeida was employed, therefore, after his return from the punitive expedition to Coulam at the beginning of November 1505 until his appointment in January or February 1506 as captain-major of the sea, we may be sure that he did not visit Ceylon. While engaged in his coastguard and convoy duties Dom Lourenço called at Cananor; and whilst he was at this place there came thither the traveller Ludovico di Varthema,§ who, in the guise of a Muhammadan, had escaped from Calecut to warn the Portuguese of the great armada that the Samuri had been preparing

* In the *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 397–98 is the summary of a letter from João da Nova, dated 5 March 1509 (*sic* for 1507), which begins thus :—"Item : how the viceroy sent him late, and how they did not wish there to allow [him] to serve in the manner that your highness commanded, [so] that he came all in disorder, and how through setting out late he was eight months with the westerlies [blowing] in an island twelve leagues athwart Mombaça. Item : the risks that he passed in the voyage as far as this island, through their taking from him his pilot and giving him another who knew nothing." (Regarding this last complaint see Cor. i. 658, *Alg. Doc.* 157.)

† "Very ill," says the writer of the *Com. of Af. Dalb.* (i. 33) : but he is alone in the assertion, and João da Nova himself does not refer to any illness in his letter quoted above.

‡ "The chief captain" [Tristão da Cunha], says the writer of the *Com. of Af. Dalb.*, "was very glad to see him, for he was a friend of his." In his letter to the king (*u. s.*) João da Nova explains why he returned with Tristão da Cunha instead of proceeding to Portugal. What became of his ship we shall see later on (p. 317, note).

§ See Cast. ii. c. xxiv., Bar. I. II. iv., *Travels of Lud. di Varthema* (Hak. Soc.) 271. According to Varthema's own statement, he arrived at Cananor on Sunday, 6 September, an absurdly incorrect date, since the viceroy's fleet, as we have seen, did not reach Anjadiva until 13 September : moreover, 6 September 1505 fell on a Saturday. Barros does not give the date; but Castanheda's statement, that it was in February 1506, is probably correct.

to resist their attacks.* Having sent Varthema to the viceroy in Cochin, Dom Lourenço proceeded to Anjadiva to bring away a brigantine that was there; and by the time he returned to Cananor other vessels had arrived from Cochin, so that altogether his fleet numbered eleven sail. The armada of Calecut soon after hove in sight, and on the 18th of March ensued a naval battle, or rather slaughter, in which between 3,000 and 4,000 of the enemy were killed or drowned, most of the vessels (from 200 to 300) being sunk, and only a few of the larger ones captured.† This event Dom Lourenço celebrated by founding in Cananor a hermitage dedicated to Our Lady of Victory.‡

Meanwhile the fort at Anjadiva had been in great straits, being besieged by a force from Goa, incited thereto by a renegade Portuguese carpenter. Manuel Paçanha, however, succeeded in holding the fort against the enemy, and dispatched a message to Dom Lourenço, who at once sent succour, whereupon the enemy raised the siege and departed.§

This brings us to the end of March or beginning of April; and we have now to consider the question, Did the "discovery" of Ceylon take place in April 1506? The fact that the chapter in Barros recording this event immediately succeeds that describing the great sea fight would lead one to answer this

* The Portuguese, we may be sure, knew of these preparations already, though Varthema was able to furnish them with fuller information. Barros rightly estimated the character of the man, and tells us that he records in his history only those statements of Varthema's which he had proved to be correct by the testimony of others (see further, regarding Varthema's veracity, under A 18, *infra*).

† See Cast. ii. c. xxvi., Bar. I. x. iv., Varthema 274–80. Cor. (i. 595–605), by a most extraordinary blunder, describes this fight as taking place just after the viceroy had left Cananor for Cochin in October 1505; and he names as taking part in it men who had already left India or had not yet arrived there. Although the Portuguese historians speak of the glorious victory achieved by Dom Lourenço's fleet, and King Manuel in his letter to the pope and cardinals (see B 3, B 4), makes much of it, the affair was, as Whiteway says (*Rise of Port. Power in India* 109), a mere massacre, with very little real fighting.

‡ This house is referred to by the viceroy in his letter of 27 December 1506, to the king (*Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 391).

§ This is according to Bar. (I. x. iv.). Cast. says nothing of a siege of Anjadiva at this time, but records one later (see below, p. 312). Cor. ii. 584–87 makes the siege take place in October 1505!

question in the affirmative. But Barros gives no dates throughout the chapter, which occurs as an isolated fragment of history, unconnected with what precedes or follows it. Moreover, it is very unlikely that an exploring expedition to the Maldives and Ceylon would have been sent out in April, when the south-west monsoon was due to set in in May.* Other and fatal objections to this supposition will be mentioned below. We may therefore consider it probable that April was spent by Dom Lourenço in coastguard and convoy work.

With the setting in of the south-west monsoon (or "winter,"† as the Portuguese termed it) all sea traffic on the west coast of India would practically cease for a period of three or four months, so that no expedition could have left Cochin before August at the earliest. The rainy months in Cochin were spent, according to Castanheda (ii. c. xxviii.), in pushing on the building of the fort, the foundations of which had been laid some months before.‡

* Bar. distinctly says that the viceroy dispatched Dom Lourenço on this expedition when it was "the monsoon weather for that passage" (see B 9, *infra*). On this subject see further on (pp. 307–8).

† See *Hobson-Jobson* under this word.

‡ According to Cast. (ii. c. xviii.) the foundations had been secretly laid by the factor Diogo Fernandes Correa before the arrival of the viceroy; but Cor. (i. 625–42) gives a long and circumstantial account of how the viceroy gained the unwilling consent of the king of Cochin to the erection of a fortress, and describes how the viceroy with great ceremony turned the first shovelful on 3 May 1506. Cor. gave a drawing of the fortress (which has perished with the original manuscript of his first volume), and says that the completion of the work was effected with great difficulty, owing to its being "a winter of many rains and tempests." Whatever truth there may be in Correa's account, his date, at least, is quite wrong, for from Gaspar Pereira's letter already cited we learn that in December 1505 the building of the fort was actively proceeding, the viceroy and all the captains and fidalgos taking their share in the manual labour (*Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 356). When the fortress was finished, I do not know; but it was not by the end of 1506, for in the summary of the viceroy's letter of 27 December 1506, where the various forts are referred to, we read: "That of Cochy iii^{o} finished," where "iii^{o}" evidently stands for *tres coartos* = three-fourths, though the editors of the *Cartas* interpret it as "three hundred," which is unintelligible (*Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 395). It was probably completed in 1507 (see the viceroy's letter in Cor. i. 908). Correa's account of the completion (i. 641–42) is either fiction or is anachronous.

Not long after the monsoon had set in there arrived at Anjadiva from Sofala, by way of Quiloa and Melinde, four ships, the captains of which were Pero Barreto de Magalhães, his cousin Payo de Sousa, Jorge Mendes Çacoto, and Lucas d'Affonseca, the first three of whom had left Portugal with Pero da Nhaya in May 1505,* and the last had, as we have seen, formed one of the captains of caravels in D. Francisco de Almeida's fleet. Pero Barreto, Payo de Sousa, and Jorge Mendes were afraid to venture further in the teeth of the monsoon; but Lucas d'Affonseca, whose ship was larger, managed to reach Cochin, bringing with him a number of persons from the other three vessels.† Now if, as Barros confidently states (see B 9), Payo de Sousa‡ was the ambassador sent to the Sinhalese king by Dom Lourenço when he visited Ceylon, it is evident that the "discovery" of that island could not have taken place before May 1506.§

Towards the close of the "winter" there arrived at Cochin, in August 1506,‖ the ship *Julioa*,¶ commanded by Cide Barbudo, who, together with Pero Quaresma, had left Portugal on 19 November 1505,** to take supplies to Sofala and to

* See Theal's *Beg. of S. A. History* 183–87.

† I follow Cast. ii. p. 92, where in line 8 "Pero de Sousa" is an evident error.

‡ He seems to be the "Payo Rodrigues de Sousa" of whom we read later on as commanding a galley (*cf.* Cast. ii. c. 118 and Cor. i. 899), and who was killed in December 1508 while accompanying the viceroy's expedition against the Turks (Cast. ii. c. xcv., Bar. II. III. v.).

§ This objection is equally valid if the envoy were Fornão Cotrim, as I shall show later on (p. 310, note ‡).

‖ Cast. (ii. c. xxxii.) says it was after the setting in of the "summer" in September, but this is incorrect.

¶ The name of Cide Barbudo's ship is nowhere mentioned; but I infer it to have been this vessel from a passage in the letter of Gaspar da India mentioned below, which runs: "Sire, when the ship *Julyoa* arrived she brought news of your highness to Dom Francisco Dalmeida" (*Cartas* ii. 377). According to Bar. (I. VI. iii.) the *Julioa* formed one of the fleet of 1502 under Vasco da Gama, she being then commanded by Lopo Mendes de Vasconcellos, who also accompanied Lopo Soares to India in 1504, perhaps in the same ship.

** See Ca' Masser 21: *Alg. Doc.* 147–49, where is printed a letter from Pero Quaresma, dated Moçambique, 31 August 1506, giving a description of the voyage and events on the east coast of Africa (see

search along the South African coast for the crew of Pero de Mendoça's wrecked vessel and for the one in which Francisco de Albuquerque had sailed from India in 1504, and which had never been heard of again. On reaching Sofala in June 1506 these two men found the place in the last extremity, the captain, Pero da Nhaya, the magistrate and seventy-six soldiers being dead of fever, and the provisions almost exhausted. Having relieved the fort and left Pero Quaresma with the caravel, Cide Barbudo proceeded to Quiloa, and thence set sail for India to convey to the viceroy the news regarding Sofala and Quiloa, and to deliver to him a letter from the king.* This document no longer exists, apparently, but from the letter of Gaspar da India printed in *Cartas* ii. 371–80 we learn (see 377) that in it Dom Manuel urged upon his viceroy the expediency of establishing a direct trade with Malacca.† Accordingly, on the 22nd of August, Francisco Pereira ‡ and Estevão de Vilhena,§ with Gaspar da India's

also Theal's *Beg. of S. A. History* 192–94). In *Cartas* ii. 345–54 are printed the royal instructions given to Cide Barbudo for his voyage.

* See *Cartas* ii. 354, iii. 269; *Alg. Doc.* 170. *Cf.* also *alvará* of 25 August 1506, issued in Cochin by the viceroy apparently in conformity with instructions received from the king through Cide Barbudo.

† In his letter of March or April 1506, to the viceroy, the king says (*Cartas* iii. 269): "Item: By Cide Barbudo we have written to you enjoining upon you that, if you have not yet sent ships to Malaca, according as we enjoined upon you in your instructions, you send them, if the weather give you the opportunity therefor, and if it can be done without hindrance to the matters of our service in those parts of India; because there had appeared here a threat of a certain armada from Castille, which it was notified to us was getting ready in order, this summer, to go in search of the said Malaca, making doubtful if it is within our limits; and that, in order that possession might be taken first by us, which, in these matters, gives much right besides that which we believe we have to it, as also because of its being such an important thing in those parts, and of such wealth and profit as is hoped, we should be glad of its being so done." (Then comes the order to go in person, &c., as mentioned below.)

‡ This is probably the "Francisco Pereyra Coutinho" mentioned by Cast. (ii. c. xxxiii.), and the "Francisco Pereira, captain of the ship *Victoria*," spoken of by Bar. (II. I. iv.).

§ Among those killed with D. Lourenço de Almeida in his ship at Chaul in March 1508, Bar. (II. II. viii.) names "Estevão de Vilhena of Setubal, knight of the king's guard, who was captain of the poop."

son* as interpreter, left Cochin in a vessel belonging to Nine Mercar,† and, keeping north of Ceylon, proceeded to the port of "Cholomender," between which and Malacca there was then a regular trade.‡ The mission was a failure, however; and, having to escape for their lives, the Portuguese took refuge at "Conymate,"§ whence they returned to Cochin on 8 November 1506.||

---

* His name was Baltesar (see B 1, *infra*). In a letter from Gaspar da India printed in *Cartas* iii. 197, and written apparently in December 1507, the king's favour is begged for this Baltesar, whom his father describes as a young man of 28, as good a man as himself (!), and acquainted with more languages.

† See A 13, *infra*. He was now resident in Cochin.

‡ See A 18 and B 2, *infra*.

§ The editors of the *Cartas* put a query after this name. Gaspar da India describes "Conymate" as "a port......on the other side of Cholomender, as far in advance as Ceylão," which seems to show that Conimere, between Pondicherry and Madras, is meant (see *Hobson-Jobson* s. vv. "Canhameira, Conimere"); though it is quite possible that the place where the Portuguese lay *perdus* was Adrampatam near Point Calimere. (*Cf*. Bar. I. IX. i., where Conimere is called *Conhomeira*, and Cape Calimere *Canhameira*, a fact that seems to have been overlooked by Yule, who does not register "Calimere" in his valuable book. See also Bar. IV. VIII. xiii.)

|| This expedition and its failure are referred to by the viceroy in his letter to the king of 27 December 1506, from which it appears that Dom Manuel had requested or advised that Cide Barbudo should be sent to Malacca. The summary (*Cartas* ii. 391) reads:—"Item: the cause why he did not send Cyde Barbudo to Malaca, and how Francisco Pereira went in the ships of the Moors, and what passed in Charomondel, and how he escaped and returned. Item: that Malaca must not be discovered on rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and he says that there [Charomondel] will be had the things thereof and cheaper, and that by that coast must go whoever shall go there." The "cause why he did not send Cyde Barbudo" to Malacca does not appear; but it was probably connected with the state of affairs at Sofala and the non-arrival of the cargo fleet from Portugal. As to the route to be taken by the person sent to "discover" Malacca, it will be seen from the document given below (A 21) that, when Dom Francisco wrote this, a letter was already on its way to him from the king, in which he was commanded to go in person to Malacca and erect a fortress there. Why this command was not obeyed is explained by Dom Francisco in his long letter to the king, written at the end of 1508, in which he says (Cor. i. 907):—"As to your commanding me to occupy

Meanwhile the secretary at Cochin, Gaspar Pereira, accompanied by Gaspar da India, was sent by the viceroy to the various Portuguese settlements at the Malabar ports to inquire regarding reported illicit trading.* They left Cochin in the *S. Miguel*, captain Rodrigo Rabello, on 1 September ;† and after visiting Cananor‡ and other ports arrived at Batecala§ on the 28th, returning on the 20th of October to Cananor, and thence to Cochin.

The "summer" season had now set in; and the Portuguese ships, having been refitted, were once more ready to put to sea. Tidings seem to have reached the viceroy that in spite of all his efforts the Moors continued to carry on their trade between Malacca and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, their vessels now avoiding the Malabar coast and taking their course

---

myself with the affairs of Malaca, if your highness were well informed of me, and of what I am doing here, you would neglect to remind me of it. Let us destroy these new folk [Venetians and Turks], and settle the old ones, and the natives of this country and coast, and then let us go and see new lands, and all will be done there in so far as this field shall be ours, so that they will offer them to us [?]; because from here to Malaca is a separate monsoon and limited seasons, adverse the one to the other." By 1508, however, the king had again changed his mind, and, in sending Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to "discover" Malacca, ordered him to go thither from Madagascar by way of the Maldives and Ceylon (see C 2, *infra*).

* This is one of the matters referred to in the *alvará* of 25 August 1506, mentioned above.

† So says Gaspar da India in his letter (*Cartas* ii. 373); but in *Cartas* ii. 371 is printed a license of the viceroy's addressed to Gaspar Pereira, permitting "the people of this armada" (what "armada" is meant, I cannot say) to sell their cargo shares; and as this is dated at Cochin, 2 September 1506, Gaspar Pereira could not have left on the 1st.

‡ It is probable that Varthema went by this ship to Cananor (see Hak. Soc. Varthema 280–81). He says that the viceroy gave him "the factorship of these parts," an office which he held for "about a year and a half." I can find no confirmation of his statement, which is probably a characteristic piece of exaggeration. More to our purpose, however, is the fact that he says not a word about the "discovery" of Ceylon—doubtless, because he took no part in it.

§ Bhatkal on the Kanara coast (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Batcul"). At this time the viceroy was endeavouring to arrange for a Portuguese factory at this port (see *Cartas* ii. 385, 393). The place is referred to by Albuquerque in a letter of 1512 quoted *infra* (C 9).

by the Maldive islands.* Determined to prevent this,† and desirous at the same time to get information regarding the Maldives‡ and "discover" Ceylon,§ Dom Francisco de Almeida in August incharged his son Dom Lourenço with this expedition. Accordingly, at the end of August or beginning of September‖ 1506, Dom Lourenço set sail with a number of vessels selected from the armada of which he was captain-major. The exact number of vessels and the names of their captains are uncertain, the historians differing widely on these points.¶ That Lopo

---

* All three historians mention this fact (see *infra*, B 8, B 9, B 10), only they differ as to the date when the viceroy took steps to stop this traffic.

† It will be seen from the extracts from the viceroy's letters given below (B 2, C 5) that one of his chief reasons for desiring to have a fortress in Ceylon was to block this route to the Moors. It was not, however, until after Albuquerque captured Malacca and erected a fortress there that the traffic ceased (see C 10, *infra*, and *cf.* the viceroy's statement to the king in 1508 (Cor. i. 907).

‡ On the history of the Maldives before and after the Portuguese came to India, see Gray's Pyrard (Hak. Soc.) ii. 423 *et seq.* In his instructions of 1505 to D. Francisco de Almeida the king does not mention these islands; but in his letter of March or April 1506 (see *infra*, A 21) he refers to them as "the archipelago of the twelve thousand islands," and urges upon the viceroy the importance of finding them. Whether Dom Manuel had expressed any similar wish in his letter sent by Cide Barbudo (see above), or whether the viceroy acted on his own initiative, I do not know; but in his letter of 27 December 1506 (see *infra*, B 2) he informed the king "how he sent Dom Lourenço to the islands of Maldiva and Quymdiquel." In the instructions given to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in February 1508 (see *infra*, C 2), the king, it will be noticed, says: "......when you shall take your course for Ceillam, you shall endeavour to take your course by the island of Camdaluz or by Maldiva, which we shall be glad to have discovered." "Discovered" the islands were in a very few years, to become, as Mr. Gray says (*op. cit.* 475), "the hunting ground of Portuguese pirates."

§ As he had been commanded by the royal instructions (see A 19, *infra*).

‖ See *infra*, B 1 and notes [4] and [5].

¶ Cast. (see B 8) writes as if only three vessels went, viz., that of Felipe Rodrigues (the *Esphera ?*) with Dom Lourenço on board and those of Lopo Chanoca and Nuno Vaz Pereira; Bar. (see B 9) says that Dom Lourenço took nine sail of those that he had in his armada, but mentions the name of only one captain, Nuno Vaz Pereira; while Cor. (see B 10) is, characteristically, very explicit, telling us that Dom Lourenço went

Chanoca* and Nuno Vaz Pereira† were amongst the captains appears certain, however.‡

That Dom Francisco should have supposed that at the end of the south-west monsoon sailing vessels from the Malabar coast could make the Maldives displays a strange ignorance on his part of the navigation of the Indian Ocean;§ and it is stranger still that no one at Cochin seems to have warned him

---

in a good ship captained by Lopo Cabral, and Manuel Telles in another, Gonçalo de Paiva and Pero Rafael in caravels, André da Silveira in a galley, and André Galo in a newly made brigantine, and that these vessels carried some three hundred men. Unfortunately, as Theal says (*Beg of S. A. History* 156), Correa was, "with respect to events previous to the government of Affonso d'Alboquerque," "a novelist rather than a historian," and "neither his statements nor his dates are to be relied upon."

* This man, as we have seen, was one of the captains of caravels in the fleet of Dom Lourenço de Almeida in 1505. He and Nuno Vaz Pereira are referred to several times by Gaspar Pereira in his letter of December 1505–January 1506, as being sent on expeditions along the coast. It will be seen from B 2 that his temper cost him his command.

† As mentioned above, when João Homem was deprived of his command, his caravel, the *S. Jorge*, was given to this man, whom Cast. describes as "a valiant knight, and judicious." We shall hear more of him later (see p. 313).

‡ My reasons for supposing this are as follows:—(1) Cast. mentions them as accompanying Dom Lourenço on his expedition; (2) Bar. mentions Nuno Vaz as one of the captains who accompanied Dom Lourenço; (3) the sequence of the paragraphs in the viceroy's letter of 27 December 1506 (see B 2) seems to imply that it was on his return from Ceylon that Lopo Chanoca was deprived of the command of his caravel, and that he was sent back to Ceylon in the ship *Santo Espirito*; (4) from the extracts C 3, C 4, C 5, it will be seen that in September 1508 Nuno Vaz Pereira was sent by the viceroy in this same ship to Ceylon to get the tribute cinnamon.

§ Lieut. Brown says (*Handbook to the Ports on the Coast of India* 115):—"The foreign traders from Chittagong, Malabar, Maskat, and elsewhere, generally arrive and leave between January and May. The boats for Calcutta and Chittagong, belonging to the islands, usually leave in September, and return in December and January." Bell says (*Maldive Islands* 102):—"The foreign traders call regularly, generally arriving about March, and leaving with the south-west monsoon in July or August. The part of the trade which is conducted by the natives themselves is carried on chiefly with Calcutta, [Madras and Ceylon] in boats of from 100 to 200 tons burthen, which leave for the coast late in August or early in September, annually, having the

of the futility of the attempt.* As might be expected, the expeditionary fleet, as soon as it got out to sea, was driven by the wind and currents† in a south-easterly direction, and made landfall at the port of Columbo on the west coast of Ceylon. It is true that of the three historians Correa alone, a not very trustworthy authority, mentions Columbo as the port into which Dom Lourenço put, Castanheda and Barros asserting that the port was that of Gale.‡ But we have seen that Castanheda is utterly wrong with regard to the date of the "discovery" of Ceylon; and Barros, with a curious lack of consistency, in a later passage of his history (see C 3) confirms

---

south-west monsoon in their favour, and return in December and January with the north-east monsoon." And yet, as we have seen, Barros says (see B 9) that the viceroy sent his son when he did "because of its being the monsoon weather [or season] for that passage." The Portuguese learnt by experience: for when Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in 1519 dispatched João Gomes Cheiradinheiro to build a fort at the Maldives he sent him off in January apparently. And we find Alvaro Fernandez, in writing to the king in 1520 about the islands, saying (*Alg. Doc.* 452): "......the monsoon season, which is from December until the end of March, excepting those [goods] from Malabar, which go sooner to the islands, on account of being so close."

* Cast. (see B 8) ascribes the failure of the ships to reach the Maldives to the inexperience of the pilots; Bar. (see B 9) to that of the Portuguese themselves, "although they took with them some natives;" and Cor. (see B 10) to the carelessness of the pilots, although he had previously described these men as "good pilots supplied by the king of Cochym." How the viceroy accounted for the failure in writing to the king we do not know, for, of the paragraph dealing with the expedition in Dom Francisco's letter of 27 December 1506 (see B 2), all that remains to us is the uninforming summary. "Item: how he sent Dom Lourenço to the islands of Maldiva and Quymdiquel."

† Regarding the treacherous nature of the monsoon winds and the currents between the Maldives and the coast of India and Ceylon, see Pyrard (Hak. Soc.) i. 257, 280.

‡ Cast. says "the port of Gabaliquamma, which our people now call the port of Gale." On "Gabaliquamma" see note [37] to C 22. In his fourth book, chap. xlii., Cast. again writes "Gale, where on a former occasion Dom Lourenço Dalmeida made landfall, as I have said." In view of the almost absolute certainty that Columbo was the port at which Dom Lourenço arrived, it is difficult to understand how Cast. and Bar. were misled as to this, and further as to the identity of the person who they say played the part of king (see below).

the correctness of Correa's statement, which is also corroborated by the *Rájávaliya* (see B 14, B 15) and by current native tradition (see B 13).

In the port* were a number of vessels of Moors from Cambay, loading cinnamon and elephants† : these, by Dom Lourenço's orders, were not interfered with.‡ Word of the arrival of the Portuguese having reached the king§ at Cota, he at once dispatched a messenger to Dom Lourenço offering to enter into an agreement of peace and amity with the Portuguese. To carry this into effect an embassy was sent by Dom Lourenço to Cota.|| In regard to the ambassador the three historians are strangely at variance. Castanheda (see B 8) says that he

* Though we have no picture of the port of Columbo as it was when the first Portuguese entered it, we are able to form a very good idea of its appearance from Correa's drawing showing the first fortress erected by Lopo Soares in 1518 (Cor. ii. 541), as it cannot have changed much in the twelve years. From that sketch (reproduced below, p. 319) it is evident that the ancient and notable town or city of Kolontoṭa or Koḷompura or Koḷam̃ba (the Kalanbú of Ibn Batúta in 1345) was in 1506 almost entirely hidden from view by the dense groves of coco palms and other trees. It is probable that Dom Lourenço and his companions saw little or nothing of the town, and may possibly have been unaware of its existence. The earliest mention of it by a Portuguese writer that I know of is that by Barbosa given below (C 22).

† Barbosa, it will be seen (C 22), distinctly states that it was from *Columbo* that the Moorish vessels carried cinnamon and elephants to Cambay and other parts : Galle, therefore, could not have been the port into which Dom Lourenço put.

‡ From what Couto (B 12) and the *Rájávaliya* (B 15) say, it would appear that the Portuguese indulged in some firing of cannon on entering the port—with the object of intimidating the natives, probably.

§ According to the *Rájávaliya* (B 14, B 15) this was Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX.; but from an inscription at Kęlaṇi we know that this king's reign began in 1508. From an inscription at Dondra we also know that Vijaya Báhu VII. assumed regal power in 1505. Either, therefore, the *Rájávaliya* is in error, or else Dharma Parákrama Báhu, though ruling at Kóṭṭé, had not yet been generally recognized as king. (On this very obscure historical problem see Bell's *Rep. on the Kęgalla Dist.* 85–86.)

|| In describing the negotiations carried on between Dom Lourenço and the Siṇhalese king, Correa, it will be seen, allows his imagination to run riot.

was "a knight called Fernão Cotrim," and he mentions no one else; while Barros (see B 9) asserts that it was "Payo de Sousa* who went in the capacity of ambassador, and for his clerk Gaspar Diaz, son of Martin Alho, a resident of Lisbon, and Diogo Velho, a servant of Dom Martinho de Castellobranco, the king's comptroller of revenue, who afterwards became conde de Villanova, and one Fernam Cotrim, and other persons of his service;" and Correa, to increase the confusion, states (see B 10) that the Portuguese convoy was "Diogo d'Almeida,† a nobleman," and that "a certain Fernão Cotrim" was sent to the king later on a different errand. At any rate we may consider it certain that Fernão Cotrim ‡ did go in some capacity. The envoys, according to Barros (B 9), "were conducted through such dense thickets that they could scarcely see the sun, taking so many turns that it seemed to them more like a labyrinth than a direct road to any place." It is a very interesting fact that this statement is confirmed by the Siṇhalese proverb, "*Parangiyá Kóṭṭéṭa vagé,*" "Like the Portuguese going to Kóṭṭé," applied to a long and circuitous path, and referring to the means adopted by the Siṇhalese to conceal from the Portuguese the proximity of the capital to the port of Columbo (see B 13).

At length the destination was reached,§ and after the usual delay the ambassador was ushered into the royal presence.

* Regarding this man see *supra*, p. 302, note ‡.

† Correa alone mentions this man, who, from his name, would appear to have been a connection of the viceroy's. But he may be a creation of Correa's.

‡ According to Barros (I. VIII. vii.), when, as related above, Pero Ferreira Fogaça was left at Quiloa as captain, Fernão Cotrim was also left there as factor. If, therefore, he accompanied Dom Lourenço's expedition to Ceylon, he must have come to India by one of the ships under Pero Barreto de Magalhães, or later with Cide Barbudo. In either case his presence in the expedition proves that it could not have taken place before August or September 1506.

§ The Portuguese envoys do not seem to have been taken into the royal city itself, but to have been received by the king at some place in the vicinity. Barros (B 9) says that it was "a kind of country-seat" of the king's, whither "he had come to take his pleasure."

What the king was like, we are not told; but Castanheda, quoting from Dom Manuel's letter to the pope (*cf.* B 8 with B 3), gives us a minute description of the king's dress and his surroundings, which were evidently intended to impress the western strangers.* The Portuguese envoy was accorded a favourable reception; and a treaty of mutual friendship and trade was entered into,† subject to ratification by the viceroy, the king agreeing to pay to the king of Portugal an annual tribute of one hundred and fifty quintals of cinnamon,‡ the first year's contribution being then and there delivered to Dom Lourenço. The latter thereupon, with the king's consent,§ and as a memorial of his "discovery" of Ceylon, erected upon a rock overlooking the sea|| a stone *padrão* or pillar having the arms of Portugal on one side and the device of the sphere on the other,

---

* The reception by candle-light is characteristic. Down to British times the Kandyan kings were accustomed to receive European envoys in the night-time (*cf.* Pybus's *Mission* 79, Hugh Boyd's *Embassy to Candy* 213, Percival's *Ceylon* 404).

† Correa's statements as to the writing of the treaty on a slip of silver, &c., I look upon as fiction: in fact, I doubt if there was anything more than a verbal agreement; at any rate no copy even of any treaty now exists (see J. F. Judice Biker's *Collecção de Tratados*. preamb. vii.).

‡ So Cast. (B 8), following the royal letter (B 3). According to Bar. (B 9) it was the Moors who gave four hundred bahars of cinnamon to Dom Lourenço in the king's name. Cor. (B 10) has it that the Siṇhalese king agreed to pay a yearly tribute of a shipload of cinnamon and two elephants (Cast. mentions two elephants later). Finally, Gaspar da India (B 1) makes Dom Lourenço say that he brought from Ceylon two hundred and fifty cruzados' worth of cinnamon (with no mention of elephants). On these various statements see note [6] to B 1.

§ So Cast. says. Cor. would have us believe that the king not only gave his willing consent to the erection of this *padrão*, but expressed the desire to have one in each of his ports. According to Bar., Dom Lourenço did not wait for the king's permission, but got together some of the Siṇhalese, and with their approval set up the stone. The details he gives in connection therewith seem to be authentic.

|| I think that Cor. is right in his description of the spot where the *padrão* was set up; for we know that on the coast of Africa conspicuous points were chosen on which to erect these pillars. Cast. simply says that the *padrão* was erected "on the shore," and Bar. only says "on a rock."

the pillar being surmounted by the cross of Christus.* The armada then set sail for Cochin,† where it arrived‡ before the end of September.§ The viceroy was doubtless highly gratified at the news of his son's "discovery,"|| and forthwith dispatched Lopo Chanoca in the *Santo Sprito* to Ceylon to obtain a cargo of cinnamon, and to erect a fortress at Columbo.¶

Dom Lourenço and his fleet appear to have now resumed their coastguard duty; but very soon a message reached the viceroy from Manuel Paçanha, captain of Anjadiva, that during the "winter" he had again been besieged by the Moors, who had obliged him to burn a brigantine and the ships that had wintered there.** It was thereupon decided in council

---

* The statements of Cast. and Cor. on this point are borne out by the letter of the viceroy (B 2). Bar. gives no description of the *padrão*, but tells us that Dom Lourenço got the stone-cutter Gonçalo Gonçalves to cut on it a short statement of the cause of its erection. The *padrão* had evidently been brought from Cochin to be erected at the Maldives or Ceylon. (I give opposite a plate showing the probable form of the pillar.)

† Cor., with his love of the marvellous, and to glorify his hero Dom Lourenço, relates the slaying of a monster in a cave. Bar. alone records the interesting incident of Nuno Vaz Pereira and the fire-blackened *padrão*.

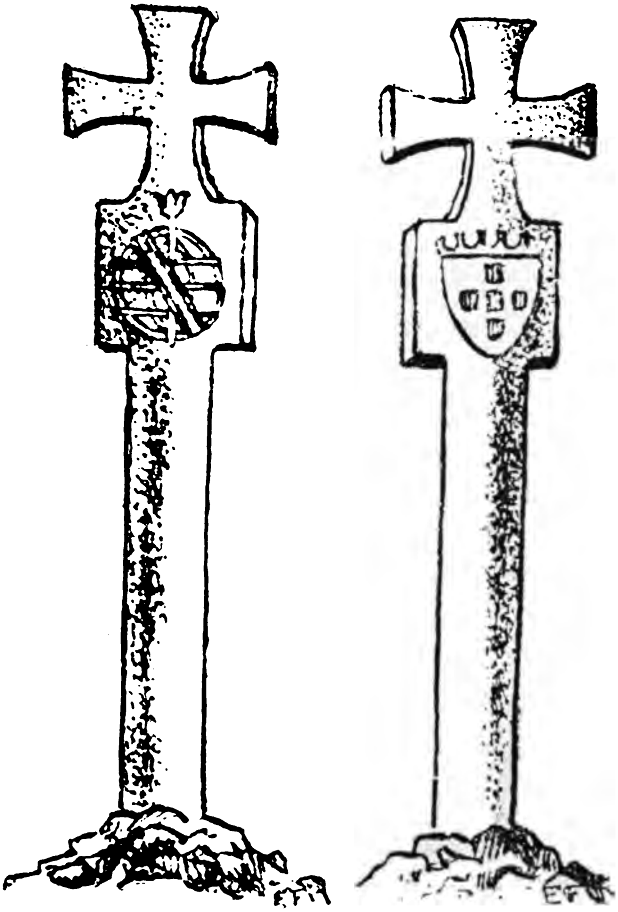
‡ Cast. says that Dom Lourenço "on the way captured several Moorish ships;" but Bar. records a punitive attack by the Portuguese armada on the village of Berinjam, which was burnt.

§ It must have been before the end of September, because, according to the viceroy's letter (B 2), Lopo Chanoca "left for Ceylão at the end of September."

|| Bar. says not a word about the reception of the news. According to Cast. the viceroy "was greatly pleased with the cinnamon, to be able to send it to Portugal." Cor., as might be expected, is equal to the occasion: and though what he tells us may not be absolutely true, it probably very nearly approximates to the truth.

¶ See B 2. I confess that this passage in the summary of the viceroy's letter puzzles me. The statements in it are not borne out by any of the historians; and if it be true that the viceroy dispatched Lopo Chanoca to Ceylon not only to get cinnamon but to erect a fortress, which he hoped to complete in a month's time, it is strange that nowhere else is this fact mentioned. Certain it is that no fortress was erected then, nor for twelve years after, as we shall see. Perhaps the summarist has misinterpreted the viceroy's words.

** This is according to Cast. (ii. c. xxxii.). As we have seen above, Bar. has it that Anjadiva was besieged in March, and says nothing of a later siege. I am unable to say if there were two sieges, or if both historians refer to the same event.



PROBABLE FORM OF PADRÃO ERECTED AT COLUMBO IN 1506 BY DOM LOURENÇO DE ALMEIDA.

Founded on sketch of Cão's Padrão at Cape Cross (in "First Voyage of Vasco da Gama" 169), and descriptions of writers quoted in "First Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese."

to demolish the fort at Anjadiva and abandon the island; and Dom Lourenço was dispatched thither to effect the demolition and bring away the Portuguese who were there.*

Meanwhile the viceroy had been making arrangements for supplying Sofala with a new staff of officials; and at the end of October or beginning of November Nuno Vaz Pereira sailed in the ship of Gonçalo Vaz de Goes for Sofala, to act as captain and empowered to settle the disputes at Quiloa, another ship accompanying him, the captain of which was his nephew Duarte de Mello de Serpa, in one or other of which vessels went a number of persons in official capacities or as friends of Nuno Vaz.†

On the 17th of November, it would appear from the letter of Gaspar da India already referred to,‡ Dom Lourenço left Cochin with an armada of six ships, two galleys, and a brigantine for Ormuz to compel the ruler of that island to become a vassal to the king of Portugal. All the historians, however,

* When exactly this dismantling took place, I cannot find. Bar. (I. x. iv.), after relating the siege of Anjadiva in March 1506, and its relief by Dom Lourenço, states that on his return to Cochin the latter reported to his father the risk that the fort would run during the coming "winter" owing to its proximity to Goa and its distance from Cochin, and adds that "for these reasons, and others important to the service of the king, it was a little while after that dismantled." Cast. (ii. c. xxxii.) implies that the demolition was effected at once, in October apparently. Cor. (i. 708), with characteristic inaccuracy, makes Tristão da Cunha, arriving at Anjadiva from Socotra in August 1507, the bearer of the news that the king had sent orders for the demolition of the fortress; a statement which he repeats further on (714), when he tells us of the viceroy's determining (in September 1507) to go and carry out the work; and later (727) he records the demolition, apparently in December 1507! That the dismantling of the fortress took place before the end of 1506, we know for certain; since the viceroy, in his letter of 27 December 1506, informed the king of the fact (see *Cartas* ii. 391, 395; also Cor. i. 908).

† See Theal's *Beg. of S. A. History* 194–95; *Cartas* 391, 394–95. (At the last reference there is a quaint copyist's error, "no vaam" for "nº vaaz.")

‡ *Cartas* ii. 379–80. In view of the disreputable character of the writer, we might be inclined to regard his statements regarding this expedition as fiction, were it not that in the summary of the viceroy's letter of 27 December 1506 (*Cartas* ii. 393) occurs the sentence,

are silent regarding this expedition; and it seems certain that Dom Lourenço never did visit Ormuz.

The non-arrival in India of any of the ships that had left Portugal in the early part of the year* caused the viceroy and the rest of the Portuguese in those parts much annoyance and some anxiety, the Moors being correspondingly elated.† Desirous of informing King Manuel of Dom Lourenço's victory

---

curiously interposed between two paragraphs relating to the "discovery" of Ceylon: "Item: how Dom Lourenço went to Armuz;" and in the summary of a letter of 6 February 1507, from Affonso de Albuquerque to the king (*Cartas* i. 416), we read: "Item: regarding the coming of Dom Lourenço to Ormuz and the ships of his captaincy divided up." It is very probable that the viceroy, having received intelligence of the probable visit of Affonso de Albuquerque to Ormuz, was desirous of forestalling him and of adding to his son's laurels. Whatever the object, however, the plan was, for some cause unknown to me, frustrated.

* These were the two fleets under Tristão da Cunha and Affonso de Albuquerque which sailed from Lisbon in March or April 1506 (the authorities are divided as to the month). Regarding the doings of these ships see Morse Stephens's *Albuquerque* 49 *et seq.*, Whiteway's *Rise of Port. Power in India* 112 *et seq.*, and especially the *Com. of Af. Dalb.* i. 20 *et seq.* The cause of the non-appearance in India of any of these ships was their late arrival at Moçambique owing to storms. Whiteway (*op. cit.* 113) says that they did not reach this place until December, which, although having the authority of Castanheda, is certainly wrong. A comparison of the narrative of events in the *Com.* with the letter of Albuquerque in *Cartas* i. 1-6 shows that it was probably in October that the ships arrived at Moçambique. In any case it was too late for them to pass over to India; so they had perforce to winter on the African coast. We shall return to them again.

† A paragraph of the summary of the viceroy's letter of 27 December 1506 runs as follows (*Cartas* i. 391): "Item: that he had ready for loading four hundred quintals, and many things of those that come from Malaca, and that they were much embarrassed by the non-arrival of the armada, and the Moors very joyful." Gaspar da India also, at the beginning of his letter of 16 November 1506 (*Cartas* ii. 371), tells the king: "We are much troubled by reason that no ship of the fleet has come this year, and the Moors are strengthening themselves along the whole coast against us." Barros (II. I. iv.) tells the same story at greater length, and states that the minds of the Portuguese were still further exercised by the occurrence, on Wednesday, 13 January 1506, of an eclipse of the sun, which lasted from 11 A.M. to 2.30 P.M., and on 15 July 1507 of a severe earthquake, lasting for an hour with some intervals.

over the Calicut armada, and of his "discovery" of Ceylon, the viceroy at the end of December* dispatched Cide Barbudo in his ship, the *Julioa*,† *viâ* Cananor for Portugal. By him Dom Francisco sent a long letter to the king,‡ recording the events of the year since February, when Vasco Gomes de Abreu and João da Nova sailed, and doubtless some cargo, including the tribute cinnamon from Ceylon. Cide Barbudo left Cananor probably in January§ 1507; and, although his voyage is not recorded by any of the historians,‖ we have good grounds for supposing that he reached Lisbon in

* I infer this from the date of the viceroy's letter (27 December).

† I have no certain proof of this ; but it is most probable.

‡ This is the letter already frequently referred to, a summary of which is printed in *Cartas* ii. 391–97. It occurs in a document in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, entitled "Summary of all the letters that came from India to our lord the king, and of other messages that likewise came in the ships of which there came as captain-major Antonio de Saldanha, and in the ship of Cide Barbudo, who came after him." The letters themselves are, unfortunately, for the most part lost, which is the more vexatious in that the summarist has in some places evidently misinterpreted the original. Although the summarist has mixed up the two batches of letters referred to in the title, it is pretty easy to separate them. Of Antonio de Saldanha I shall speak presently ; but the letters brought by Cide Barbudo (so far as the summaries printed tell us) were as follows :—A letter from Diogo de Alcaçova dated 22 November 1506 (text in *Cartas* ii. 385–89, summary in ditto, 390); letter from the viceroy dated 27 December 1506 (summary in *Cartas* ii. 391–97) ; letter from Lourenço de Brito dated January 1507 (summary in *Cartas* ii. 397). It was in this long letter, ended on 27 December 1506, that Dom Francisco de Almeida reported to King Manuel the "discovery" of Ceylon by his son (see B 2, *infra*). Judging by the summary, the viceroy would seem to have been chary in detail in writing of this event ; and I see no reason to doubt what Correa tells us (see end of B 10, *infra*), that Dom Francisco sent to Portugal a man who had accompanied the expedition to Ceylon to report verbally to the king what he as an eye-witness had seen. To this reporter apparently are due the interesting details given in King Manuel's letter to the pope (see B 3) and copied by Castanheda (see B 8).

§ I infer this from the fact that the letter from Lourenço de Brito is dated in that month, as stated in the previous footnote.

‖ Cast. (ii. c. xxxii.) is the only one that refers to Cide Barbudo's return. He says : "And by this Cide Barbudo the viceroy wrote to the king of Portugal what had been done in India since the departure of the other ships : but if this ship reached Portugal I do not know." As regards this last statement see next note.

September;* for on the 25th of that month King Manuel wrote letters† to Pope Julius II. and the college of cardinals at Rome announcing Dom Lourenço's "discovery" of Ceylon; and his victory over the Calicut fleet,‡ as also the "discovery," by Tristão da Cunha and his companions, of another (and far larger) island, to wit, that of Madagascar.§

The very fact of the king's writing to the pope and cardinals regarding the "discovery" of Ceylon argues the importance he attached thereto; and it is interesting to know that on St. Thomas's day, 21 December 1507, a solemn procession was made in Rome to celebrate the event (see B 6), when the famous Frei Egidio de Viterbo, prelate-general

---

* From the title of the collection of summaries quoted in a previous note we know that Cide Barbudo arrived in Lisbon after Antonio de Saldanha; and as we also know (see note below) that the latter reached Portugal in August 1507, we may safely conclude that the former's arrival was in September.

† See *infra*, B 3, B 4.

‡ These two events, the news of which was brought by Cide Barbudo, are the ones first related in his letter by Dom Manuel, the "discovery" of Ceylon taking the first place as the most important.

§ There appears to be some uncertainty as to when and by whom Madagascar was discovered. According to Correa (i. 153) the first Portuguese who sighted and landed on the island was Diogo Dias, one of the captains of the fleet of 1500 under Lopo Cabral; and he it was, says Correa, who gave it the name of São Lourenço, on account of first sighting it on St. Lawrence's day (12 August). Cor. also records (i. 418) that Diogo Fernandes Peteira, one of the captains in the fleet of 1503 under Antonio de Saldanha, wintered in a port in the island in 1504 on his way to India. These statements are, however, not corroborated by the other historians; and it is generally believed that, as mentioned above, Fernão Soares, on his homeward voyage in 1506, was the first European to discover and land on Madagascar (in February, according to Cast. ii. c. xxi.), though he was then unaware of its identity (*cf.* Hans Mayr's account in *Bol. de Soc. de Geog. de Lisboa*, 17 ser., 1898–9, p. 367). It was the chance landfall at a port in the south of Madagascar of Rui Pereira, one of Tristão da Cunha's captains, that led that famous navigator, against Albuquerque's wishes, to go and "discover" the island, an expedition that reflects disgrace on all concerned in it (see details in *Com. of Af. Dalb.* i. 26–33, *Cartas* i. 1–4, and Whiteway's sarcastic description in *Rise of Port. Power in India* 113). It was after the disastrous failure of this enterprise, and on their return to Moçambique in February 1507, that Tristão da Cunha and Albuquerque found João da Nova under the circumstances I have mentioned already.

POPE JULIUS II., 1503–1513.

Portrait by Raphael, in the National Gallery, London.
(From a photograph by Franz Hanfstaengl, London: by special permission.)

of the Augustine order, delivered a lengthy oration, entirely in laudation of the pope, to whom he ascribed not a little of the glory of the event (see B 5). That the news was received in Venice with anything but pleasure, we can well imagine, though on that point the Venetian diarist is discreetly silent (see B 6). It is greatly to be regretted that the instructions issued by Dom Manuel in 1510, for the painting of a set of pictures commemorating the chief discoveries made during

João da Nova's ship, the *Flor de la mar*, being in a very leaky condition, the cargo had to be discharged; wherefore, says the writer of the *Com. of Af. Dalb.* (i. 33), Tristão da Cunha "bought a merchant ship, of which André Dias (who was afterwards Alcaide of Lisbon) was captain and factor, and ordered all the cargo of the *Flor de la mar* to be stowed in it, and gave the command of it to Antonio de Saldanha, and sent it to Portugal, and in company with it a ship of Fernão de Loronha, of which the captain was Diogo Mendez Correa." According to Bar. (II. I. ii.) the cargo was transferred to the *Sancta Maria*, a ship of Tristão da Cunha's fleet, the captain of which, Alvaro Fernandes, had died. André Dias was the ship's factor (see Cast. ii. c. xxx.). Cast., Cor., and Albuquerque (*Cartas* i. 5, 417) call her "the ship from Lagos." With respect to the other ship I am puzzled. We have seen above that the *Madalena*, Captain Diogo *Fernandes* Correa, had to remain at Moçambique and discharge her cargo; and we might infer it was she that accompanied the *Sancta Maria*, and that "Mendez" in the above extract was an error for "Fernandez." But Cor. (i. 719) mentions a Diogo Mendes Correa who had come out to be factor of Coulam, but who returned to Portugal in disgust because the viceroy would not give him the factorship of Cochin. This, however, would seem to have been in 1507 (see the viceroy's letter in Cor. i. 908). And yet a Diogo Mendes (Correa ?) did apparently accompany Antonio de Saldanha back to Portugal, as will be seen from the list of letters which the latter carried, the summaries of which are printed in the *Cartas*. One of these (ii. 390) is headed "Remembrances that Diogo Mendes retained of his letter" (evidently a letter that had miscarried). Among the letters brought to Portugal by Antonio de Saldanha were the following:—From Albuquerque of 10 November 1506 (i. 417, where "1507" is an error), another of 6 February 1507 (text at i. 1–6, and sum. at i. 417), another of same date (i. 416), another of 14 February 1507 (i. 417); from Pero Vaz d'Orta, factor of Tristão da Cunha's fleet, of 4 March 1507 (iii. 277); and from João da Nova (quoted above) of 5 March 1507 (ii. 397). This last date shows us that Antonio de Saldanha must have set sail from Moçambique early in March 1507; and Bar. tells us (II. IV. iii.) that he reached Portugal in August, and was favourably received by the king in Abrantes (*cf.* B 3, B 4, *infra*), but did not get what he asked for—the carrying out of the "discovery" of Madagascar.

his reign (see B 7), were apparently never carried out; for we should then have been able to realize the details of Dom Lourenço's "discovery" far better than it is possible to do from the descriptions of that event.

Owing to the non-arrival in India in 1506 of any of the ships that sailed from Portugal that year, the viceroy, when he wrote at the end of December to the king, had not received Dom Manuel's letter of March or April 1506 (see A 21), in which he was ordered to go in person to Malacca and build a fortress there, and on the return voyage to call at Ceylon, erect a fortress, and make that the principal viceregal residence, this order being based upon sentimental as well as practical reasons. From the summary of the viceroy's letter referred to it appears that Dom Francisco when he wrote was desirous of building a fortress at Columbo, which he described as admirably suited for the purpose. In fact, as stated already, it would seem that he sent Lopo Chanoca thither to carry out this work, which, however, for some reason not stated, was not accomplished. Whether King Manuel in writing to the viceroy in 1507 renewed his request, I do not know, since his letter of that year appears to have perished; but in February 1508, having in his mind what Dom Francisco had written on the subject, Dom Manuel, in his instructions to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (see C 2), ordered him when going to Malacca to call at Ceylon, where he evidently thought the viceroy would ere then have erected the proposed fortress. That it had not been built was not owing to any change of mind in the viceroy, as is evident from the manner in which he wrote to the king at the end of 1508 respecting its desirability (see C 5). It must be inferred, therefore, that the cause of the non-execution of the work lay in opposition on the part of the king of Cota.*

But, though apparently favourable to the idea of having a fortress in Ceylon, Dom Francisco de Almeida was opposed to the multiplication of Portuguese fortresses in the east.†

* *Cf.* the statements of Bar. and Cast. in the extracts C 3 and C 4, *infra*.

† In writing to the king at the end of 1508 he says (Cor. i. 906): "Regarding the fortress there in Coulão, the more fortresses you have, the weaker will be your power: let all your strength be on the sea,

CEILAM

His successor, Affonso de Albuquerque, did not share the viceroy's views on this point*; but though, as Barros tells us (see C 24), King Manuel repeatedly urged the matter upon him, and though apparently he had the opportunity in 1513 of fulfilling the king's wish (see C 15), he likewise failed to carry out the work. The reason for this is doubtless to be found in Albuquerque's letter of 4 November 1510 (see C 7), from which it would seem that he regarded a fortress in Ceylon as needless. That this was so as regards the supply of cinnamon is evident, enough being brought each year to Cochin by Portuguese or Moorish vessels for the loading of the homeward-bound ships.†

It was not until 1518, therefore, that Albuquerque's successor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria,‡ disappointed with his ill-success at the mouth of the Red Sea,§ and knowing that a new governor was on his way out, resolved, in order to leave some task fulfilled, to carry out the long-deferred work (see C 24). This was successfully accomplished, in spite of opposition on the part of the king of Cota and his people,‖ in October–November 1518¶; but the fortress was such a flimsy structure that it had to be rebuilt in 1520.**

---

because if on it we be not powerful, which our Lord forfend, everything will forthwith be against us, and if the king of Cochym chose to be disloyal, forthwith all would be destroyed, because the past wars were with beasts, now we have it with Venetians and Turks of the Soldan."

* See Morse Stephens's *Albuquerque* 39–40, 72–73; Whiteway's *Rise of Port. Power in India* 169–70.

† *Cf.* the letters of Antonio Real and Lourenço Moreno quoted *infra* (C 12 and C 17).

‡ Regarding this man's governorship see Whiteway *op. cit.* 179–89.

§ See Whiteway *op. cit.* 184–86.

‖ Whiteway (*op. cit.* 180) sarcastically observes of Diogo Lopes that "his solitary success consisted in building a fort among the unwarlike Siṇhalese."

¶ See Cast. iii. c. xlii.–xliii. (*Ceylon Lit. Reg.* iv. 196–97, 203–4), Bar. III. II. ii., Cor. ii. 539–47 (*C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 179–81, 197–98, 204). For a view of the fortress see the plate opposite, reproduced from Cor. ii. 541.

** One of the earliest acts of King Manuel's successor Dom João III. was to order its demolition, which was carried out at the end of 1524 (see Bar. III. IX. ii.).

Here my task ends; and I think I have succeeded in showing (i.) that from the time of Vasco da Gama's first voyage to India (as before that event) Ceylon was universally regarded as the "mother of cinnamon" (as Barros puts it); (ii.) that the "discovery" of Ceylon by Dom Lourenço de Almeida took place in September 1506; (iii.) that Columbo, and not Galle, was the port where he made landfall, and where he erected the commemorative *padrão*; and (iv.) that from the time of that discovery until the erection of the first fortress at Columbo in 1518 Portuguese intercourse with Ceylon, though perhaps not very frequent, was uninterrupted.

APPENDICES.

A 1.

Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama.[1]

[1498–9.]

From this country of Calecut which is called India Alta goes the spicery that is consumed in the west and in the east and in Portugal and indeed also in all the regions of the world;—there also go from this city called Calecut many precious stones of every sort; —to wit, in this said city there is of its own growth this spicery that follows: much ginger and pepper and cinnamon, although it is not as fine as is that of an island that is called Cillam which is eight days' journey from Calecut: all this cinnamon is brought to this city of Calecut....

* * * * * * *

These names written below are of certain kingdoms that are to the south of Calecut; and the things that each kingdom has and what they are worth; the which I learnt for very truth from a man who knew our language and had come thirty years before from Alexandria to these parts.[2]

* * * * * * *

Another Kingdom.

¶ Ceylam which is an island very large and inhabited by Christians and with a Christian king[3]; from Calecut by sea with a fair wind it is eight days; this king can muster four thousand men and also has many elephants for war and for sale: here is all the fine cinnamon that there is in this Imdia, and also sapphire stones and better than others of other countries, and rubies few but good.

[1] This is by an unknown writer, who was on one of the ships of Vasco da Gama's expedition. It was first printed in 1838, a new edition appearing in 1861. An admirably edited English translation by Mr. E. G. Ravenstein was issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1898. As Mr. Ravenstein's version is a little free, I have here given an almost literal translation.

[2] This was the Jew known as Gaspar da Gama or Gaspar da India, regarding whom see Ravenstein's *First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* 179. He is referred to in the extract A 4 below; and to him we are indebted for the earliest extant reference to the visit of D. Lourenço de Almeida to Ceylon (see B 1).

[3] The Portuguese, on first arriving in India, mistook the Hindu form of worship for a kind of Christian ritual (see *First Voyage of V. da Gama* 53). They soon discovered their error, and then termed the Hindus gentiles or pagans (*gentios*).

September;* for on the 25th of that month King Manuel wrote letters† to Pope Julius II. and the college of cardinals at Rome announcing Dom Lourenço's "discovery" of Ceylon and his victory over the Calicut fleet,‡ as also the "discovery" by Tristão da Cunha and his companions, of another (and far larger) island, to wit, that of Madagascar.§

The very fact of the king's writing to the pope and cardinals regarding the "discovery" of Ceylon argues the importance he attached thereto; and it is interesting to know that on St. Thomas's day, 21 December 1507, a solemn procession was made in Rome to celebrate the event (see B 6), when the famous Frei Egidio de Viterbo, prelate-general

---

* From the title of the collection of summaries quoted in a previous note we know that Cide Barbudo arrived in Lisbon after Antonio de Saldanha; and as we also know (see note below) that the latter reached Portugal in August 1507, we may safely conclude that the former's arrival was in September.

† See *infra*, B 3, B 4.

‡ These two events, the news of which was brought by Cide Barbudo, are the ones first related in his letter by Dom Manuel, the "discovery" of Ceylon taking the first place as the most important.

§ There appears to be some uncertainty as to when and by whom Madagascar was discovered. According to Correa (i. 153) the first Portuguese who sighted and landed on the island was Diogo Dias, one of the captains of the fleet of 1500 under Lopo Cabral: and he it was, says Correa, who gave it the name of São Lourenço, on account of first sighting it on St. Lawrence's day (12 August). Cor. also records (i. 418) that Diogo Fernandes Peteira, one of the captains in the fleet of 1503 under Antonio de Saldanha, wintered in a port in the island in 1504 on his way to India. These statements are, however, not corroborated by the other historians; and it is generally believed that, as mentioned above, Fernão Soares, on his homeward voyage in 1506, was the first European to discover and land on Madagascar (in February, according to Cast. ii. c. xxi.), though he was then unaware of its identity (*cf.* Hans Mayr's account in *Bol. de Soc. de Geog. de Lisboa*, 17 ser., 1898-9, p. 367). It was the chance landfall at a port in the south of Madagascar of Rui Pereira, one of Tristão da Cunha's captains, that led that famous navigator, against Albuquerque's wishes, to go and "discover" the island, an expedition that reflects disgrace on all concerned in it (see details in *Com. of Af. Dalb.* i. 26–33, *Cartas* i. 1–4, and Whiteway's sarcastic description in *Rise of Port. Power in India* 113). It was after the disastrous failure of this enterprise, and on their return to Moçambique in February 1507, that Tristão da Cunha and Albuquerque found João da Nova under the circumstances I have mentioned already.

POPE JULIUS II., 1503–1513.

Portrait by Raphael, in the National Gallery, London.
(From a photograph by Franz Hanfstaengl, London: by special permission.)

of the Augustine order, delivered a lengthy oration, entirely in laudation of the pope, to whom he ascribed not a little of the glory of the event (see B 5). That the news was received in Venice with anything but pleasure, we can well imagine, though on that point the Venetian diarist is discreetly silent (see B 6). It is greatly to be regretted that the instructions issued by Dom Manuel in 1510, for the painting of a set of pictures commemorating the chief discoveries made during

João da Nova's ship, the *Flor de la mar*, being in a very leaky condition, the cargo had to be discharged; wherefore, says the writer of the *Com. of Af. Dalb.* (i. 33), Tristão da Cunha "bought a merchant ship, of which André Dias (who was afterwards Alcaide of Lisbon) was captain and factor, and ordered all the cargo of the *Flor de la mar* to be stowed in it, and gave the command of it to Antonio de Saldanha, and sent it to Portugal, and in company with it a ship of Fernão de Loronha, of which the captain was Diogo Mendez Correa." According to Bar. (II. I. ii.) the cargo was transferred to the *Sancta Maria*, a ship of Tristão da Cunha's fleet, the captain of which, Alvaro Fernandes, had died. André Dias was the ship's factor (see Cast. ii. c. xxx.). Cast., Cor., and Albuquerque (*Cartas* i. 5, 417) call her "the ship from Lagos." With respect to the other ship I am puzzled. We have seen above that the *Madalena*, Captain Diogo *Fernandes* Correa, had to remain at Moçambique and discharge her cargo; and we might infer it was she that accompanied the *Sancta Maria*, and that "Mendez" in the above extract was an error for "Fernandez." But Cor. (i. 719) mentions a Diogo Mendes Correa who had come out to be factor of Coulam, but who returned to Portugal in disgust because the viceroy would not give him the factorship of Cochin. This, however, would seem to have been in 1507 (see the viceroy's letter in Cor. i. 908). And yet a Diogo Mendes (Correa ?) did apparently accompany Antonio de Saldanha back to Portugal, as will be seen from the list of letters which the latter carried, the summaries of which are printed in the *Cartas*. One of these (ii. 390) is headed "Remembrances that Diogo Mendes retained of his letter" (evidently a letter that had miscarried). Among the letters brought to Portugal by Antonio de Saldanha were the following:—From Albuquerque of 10 November 1506 (i. 417, where "1507" is an error), another of 6 February 1507 (text at i. 1-6, and sum. at i. 417), another of same date (i. 416), another of 14 February 1507 (i. 417); from Pero Vaz d'Orta, factor of Tristão da Cunha's fleet, of 4 March 1507 (iii. 277); and from João da Nova (quoted above) of 5 March 1507 (ii. 397). This last date shows us that Antonio de Saldanha must have set sail from Moçambique early in March 1507; and Bar. tells us (II. IV. iii.) that he reached Portugal in August, and was favourably received by the king in Abrantes (*cf.* B 3, B 4, *infra*), but did not get what he asked for—the carrying out of the "discovery" of Madagascar.

A 9.

Paesi Novamente Retrovati, cap. cxlii.

[From information of Padre Joseph,[1] after June 1502.]

There are also in this Indian sea many islands, among which are two worthy of mention. The first is Saylam, distant from the cape Comari cc miles, in which are produced the horses.[2] Beyond this towards the east is the island of Samotra or Taprobana.[3]

[1] This man and his brother Mathias, professed Christians, were found at Cranganor in 1500 by Pedralvares Cabral, who brought them to Portugal, where Mathias died. Joseph went to Rome, and thence to Venice, where the details published in the *P. N. R.* were obtained from him.

[2] In original "*dove nasceno le Caualle*"—a ridiculous misprint for "*le canelle*," "the cinnamon [barks or quills]."

[3] Like Gaspar da India, Padre Joseph could not identify Ceylon with Taprobana, which name he agreed with the compilers of the Canerio and Cantino charts (see A 10) in applying to Sumatra.

A 10.

Legends in the Canerio Chart.[1]

[1502.]

Ataprobana.[2]—This island called Ataprobana is the largest island in the world and the richest in everything, such as gold and silver and precious stones and pearls and very large and fine rubies and all kinds of spicery and silks and brocades; and the people are idolators and very [well] disposed and trade with outsiders and send out from here many wares and bring others that are not found in this island.

[*Çillam.*[3]]—Here is produced the cinnamon and many kinds of spicery, and here they fish pearls and seed-pearls; the people of this island are idolators and trade much cloves with Caliqut.[4]

[1] A reproduction of part of this chart is given in the *First Voyage of V. da Gama*, the legends, with English translations, being printed in App. G. The reference letters prefixed to the last five legends do not correspond with those in the map.

[2] In the map this name is assigned to Sumatra; but the description in the legend would seem to show some confusion with Ceylon.

[3] In the Canerio chart no name is given to Ceylon, though the names of three places on the east coast are marked, viz., Morachim (———?), Traganollaneo (Trincomaleo), and Panama (Pánawa). The name Çillam is from the Cantino chart, also of 1502 (*cf.* the first extract above, A 1).

[4] This last statement is, of course, erroneous. Leonardo Nardi (see *supra*, A 8) was better informed.

A 11.

Calcoen.[1]

[January 1502.]

...... From Coloen[2] 1 miles lies an island and it is called Steloen,[3] and there grows the best cinnamon that is found.

* * * * * * *

The ginger grows as the rush does, and cinnamon like willows,[4] and every year the cinnamon is peeled, and the thinner and newer it is the better it is ......

[1] This is the title of a Dutch pamphlet, printed at Antwerp *circa* 1504, and giving an account of the second voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1502. A facsimile of the original, with a faulty English translation, was published in 1874 by Mr. J. Ph. Berjeau.
[2] Coulam, or Quilon.
[3] A misprint for "Sieloen."
[4] As di Conti had remarked, some sixty years before.

A 12.

The Voyage to the East Indies by Thomé Lopez.[1]

[19 November 1502.]

...... And those of Cocchin also told us, that from there to Zeilam is 150 leagues, and that it is a rich and very large island of 300 leagues, and that there are great mountains there, and cinnamon grows there in the greatest abundance, more than in any other place, and the best that is to be found, and many precious stones, and great quantity of pearls. And there are in the said island, corresponding to the great mountains, many wild elephants, very big, and they tame them in this manner ......

[1] The Portuguese original of this is lost. An Italian translation was printed by Ramusio in tom. 1 of his *Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550). It describes the second voyage of Vasco da Gama to India.

A 13.

Barros I. vi. vi.

[November–December 1502.]

...... The king of Cochij during this time had not yet seen the admiral[1]; and because he learnt that there was about to enter his port a ship of Calecut, which was coming from Ceilam, and which belonged to a Moor of Calecut called Nine Mercar, fearing

that Vicente Sodre on going out would capture it, he sent and begged the admiral that he would not impede that ship, which he wished to enter that port of his, although it was from Calecut.[2]

[1] Vasco da Gama.

[2] Since the massacre at Calecut, in December 1500, of Aires Correa and his companions, the Portuguese had declared unceasing war against Calecut and all connected with it (*cf.* B 10, *infra*).

A 14.

Correa i. 328.[1]

[1502.]

......our people left Cochym, having finished loading the ships with all that they wanted of pepper and drugs which were in superabundance, because the merchants of Cochym, when they saw our great trade established, from which they derived such profit, sent their ships to Malaca, and Banda, and Maluco with their goods, which were Cambaya cloths, in exchange for which they brought them all kinds of drugs, and on the return voyage from Malaca they got cinnamon in Ceylão, and they had everything ready in Cochym for the loading of the ships, and what was over they sent for sale to Cambaya, whence they got their cloths, with which they returned to Malaca.[2]

[1] See also Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* 364. This extract is from the account of the second voyage.

[2] *Cf.* the extract from Correa below, A 20.

A 15.

Copy of a Letter received from the Merchants of Spain to their Correspondents in Florence and Venice of the Treaty of Peace between the King of Portugal and the King of Calichut.[1]

[December 1503 ?]

There still remains to discover the island of Taprobane,[2] which according to Pliny is superabundant in riches and money and pearls, and needs to be discovered.

[1] This is printed in *Paesi Novamente Retrovati* cap. cxxviii. It gives information received by the Portuguese ships of 1502, which returned to Lisbon 15 December 1503.

[2] Either Ceylon or Sumatra may be meant.

A 16.

The Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque.[1]

[1503–4.]

Coulam at the time that Afonso Dalboquerque came to it was a very great city .... This city was a great trading port, and in former times many merchants were settled there from all parts of India, chiefly from Malaca. And being a port sheltered from all the winds, it was the principal staple for all the ships that sailed to India, both those that passed by the island of Ceylam and those that sailed between Ceylam and Chale.[2] And at that time the island of Ceylam was subject to it, and paid tribute to it.[3] From Coulam to that island is some eighty leagues, and from Coulam to Chale, which is about sixty leagues by coast, all belonged to it.[4]

[1] This work by Albuquerque's son was first printed in 1557: it is from this edition that I have translated the extract. A revised and enlarged edition was published in 1576, which was reprinted in 1774. An English translation by Mr. W. de Gray Birch was issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1875–84. The passage from which this extract is taken appears to be based on the description of Coulam in Castanheda liv. i. cap. lxi.

[2] This should be "Cael." Chale was an old port on the south side of the Beypur river; Cael (Káyal) was in the extreme south of India on the Gulf of Mannár (see *Hobson-Jobson* s. vv.). Castanheda (*loc. cit.*) has "Cale."

[3] This is of course an error.

[4] See Barbosa (Hakluyt Soc. ed.) 161, 163, 173.

A 17.

Description of the Voyage from Lisbon to Calicut.[1]

[1504.]

And they bring [to Calacut] spicery from Malacca and Cella, which is the great island of Taprobana, of which so much is written. There are many precious stones there, it is 250 miles from Callecut, and the cinnamon grows best of all[2] in the said island.[3]

[1] This is a document in German, found among the papers of Dr. Conrad Peutinger, and printed by Dr. B. Greiff in the *Sechsundzwanzigster Jahres-Bericht des historischen Kreisvereins ...... von Schwaben* (Augsburg, 1861).

[2] The original has "aller fast," which may be an error for "aller best."

[3] Leonardo Ca' Masser (see *infra*, A 23), in his summary account of this voyage, has "Cumari a place, where were all the cinnamon [quills]." Apparently "Cumari" represents Cape Comorin, and the "place" must have been Ceylon.

A 18.

The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema.[1]

[1505.]

...... The said city [Cioromandel[2]] is situated opposite to the island of Zeilon, when you have passed the Cape of Cumerin ...... We passed a gulf of twelve or fifteen leagues where we had incurred great peril because there are many shoals and rocks there; however, we arrived at an island called Zailon,[3] which is about 1,000 miles in circumference, according to the report of the inhabitants thereof.

THE CHAPTER CONCERNING ZAILANI, WHERE JEWELS ARE PRODUCED.

In this island of Zailon are four kings,[4] all pagans. I do not describe to you all the kings of the said island, because these kings being in fierce war with each other,[5] we could not remain there long, neither could we see or hear the things thereof; however, having remained there some few days, we saw that which you shall hear. And first, an immense quantity of elephants which are produced there. We also saw rubies found there, at a distance of two miles from the sea shore, where there is an extremely large and very long mountain, at the foot of which the said rubies are found.[6] And when a merchant wishes to find these jewels, he is obliged first to speak to the king and to purchase a *brazo* of the said land in every direction (which *brazo* is called a *molan*[7]), and to purchase it for five ducats. And then when he digs the said land, a man always remains there on the part of the king. And if any jewel be found which exceeds ten carats, the king claims it for himself, and leaves all the rest free.[8] There is also produced near to the said mountain, where there is a very large river, a great quantity of garnets, sapphires, jacinths, and topazes. In this island there grow the best fruits I have ever seen, and especially certain artichokes (*carzofoli*)[9] better than ours. Sweet oranges (*melangoli*), the best, I believe, in the world, and many other fruits like those of Calicut, but much superior.

THE CHAPTER CONCERNING THE TREE OF THE CANNELLA.

The tree of the *cannella* is the same as the laurel, especially the leaves; and it produces some berries like the laurel, but they are smaller and more white. The said *cannella*, or cinnamon, is the bark of the said tree in this wise: Every three years they cut the branches of the said tree, and then take off the bark of them; but they do not cut the stem on any account. There are great numbers of these trees. When they collect that cinnamon it has not the excellence which it possesses a month afterwards. A Moorish merchant told me that at the top of that very large mountain there is a cavern to which the men of that country go once in the year to pray, because, as they say, Adam was up there praying[10] and doing penance, and that the impressions of his

feet are seen to this day, and that they are about two spans long. Rice does not grow in this country,[11] but it comes from the mainland. The kings of this island are tributaries of the king of Narsinga,[12] on account of the rice which comes there from the mainland. The air in this island is extremely good, and the people are of a dark tawny colour. And here it is neither too hot nor too cold. Their dress is *alla apostolica*[13]; they wear certain stuffs of cotton or silk, and go bare-footed. This island is placed under the equinoctial line,[14] and the inhabitants of it are not very warlike. Artillery is not used here[15]; but they have some lances and swords, which lances are of cane, and with these they fight amongst each other; but they do not kill each other overmuch, because they are cowardly fellows. Here there are roses and flowers of every kind, and the people live longer than we do. Being in our ship one evening, a man came on the part of the king to my companion, and told him that he should carry to him his corals and saffron; for he had a great quantity of both. A merchant of the said island, who was a Moor, hearing these words, said to him secretly: "Do not go to the king, for he will pay you for your goods after his own fashion." And this he said out of cunning, in order that my companion might go away, because he himself had the same kind of merchandize. However, answer was given to the message[16] of the king, that on the following day he would go to his lord. And when morning came, he took a vessel and rowed over to the mainland.

* * * * * * *

This district [Paleachet] is one of immense traffic in merchandize, and especially in jewels, for they come here from Zeilon and from Pego ......

[1] The original Italian of this work was first published in 1510, there being many subsequent editions and translations into various languages. I have taken these extracts from the translation by Mr. Winter Jones issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1863 (only making a few emendations in spelling to correspond with the original). Varthema's narrative is a mixture of fact and fiction; and it is extremely doubtful if his travels extended further eastward than the Malabar coast, though he professes to have gone as far as the Banda and Moluccas islands, and describes the various places which, he says, he visited. His description of Ceylon, it will be seen, is very meagre, and the information might well have been picked up from native merchants at Calicut.

[2] The "city of Choromandel" was probably Negapatam (*cf.* B 2, and see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Coromandel").

[3] If Varthema had actually visited Ceylon, he would hardly have failed to name the port at which he called.

[4] *Cf.* Correa's statement (B 10, *infra*). These would be four of the six sons of Víra Parákrama Báhu (see Bell's *Report on the Kęgalla District* 5; *Rájávaliya* 71).

[5] This statement is not borne out by the *Rájávaliya*.

[6] The "mountain" is evidently the Adam's Peak range, which is a good deal more than "two miles from the sea shore."

[7] The editor of the Hakluyt Society's edition of Varthema in a footnote hazards the suggestion that this may mean an amunam. The meaning is simple enough: *molan* represents Tamil or Malayalam *muḷam*, cubit.

[8] *Cf.* Barbosa's statement in the extract given below (C 22).

[9] To this the editor of the Hak. Soc. Varthema appends the following footnote: "Probably the custard apple, which in outer form is not unlike an artichoke." But it is doubtful if the custard-apple existed in Asia until the Portuguese introduced it from South America (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Custard-apple").

[10] This should be "mourning," or "lamenting" (the original has *piangere*).

[11] Barbosa's statement (see C 22) is more correct.

[12] An erroneous statement.

[13] This is a favourite expression of the author's, and means, probably, clad in long robes, such as the Italian artists depicted the apostles as wearing.

[14] An error.

[15] *Cf.* the statements in the extracts given below from Couto and the *Rájávaliya* (B 12 and B 14).

[16] This should be "messenger."

A 19.

Instructions that D. Francisco de Almeida carried when he went as Captain-Major to India.[1]

[5 March 1505.]

* * * * * * *

Item: Because in India there are still so many things to discover, and such that when they have been discovered there may result therefrom much to our service, both by the profit from the things that may be there as well as by the right of ownership, and in other respects much to our service, we think well that after the loading of the ships is finished and they have been duly dispatched and all the rest has been executed that by these instructions I command you to do, not having need of all the vessels that are to remain with you, you send a pair of caravels, or whatever else shall seem suitable and you can well spare, to discover Ceylam, and Pegu and Mallaca, and any other places and things of those parts, sending in the said vessels that you thus send a person who shall have the chief charge of them, and one who will do it very well and with all regard to and security of our service, and in the said places and in all others and any ports and countries that they shall discover they shall place our *padrões* of stone,[2] with the royal arms and the cross of Christos at the top,[3] which *padrões* you shall order the stone-cutters who go to make there.[4]

* * * * * * *

[1] This document is printed in *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* ii. 272 ff.

[2] Regarding these *padrões* or memorial pillars see *First Voy. of V. da Gama* 169–70.

[3] *Cf.* B 2.

[4] In the earliest voyages the navigators carried a supply of marble *padrões* with them from Portugal (see Stanley's *Three Voy. of V. da Gama* 73, 141): this was now found to be needless.

A 20.

Correa i. 622.

[January 1506.]

......The viceroy sent Dom Lourenço with his fleet to carefully guard the vessels from Cochym and Cananor,[1] which went laden with cloths, with which they sailed to Malaca, Maluco, Banda, and other parts, whence they returned laden with drugs and cinnamon which they got in Ceylão on the way back.[2]

[1] On their way to Cambaya.
[2] *Cf.* the extract *supra*, A 14.

A 21.

Letter of King Manuel to D. Francisco de Almeida.[1]

[? March or April 1506.]

* * * * * * *

Item—On the return voyage,[2] if it please God, according to the information that we have, it appears to us that you can well take the course to Ceyllam, which is a thing of such importance in Jmdia, as you know, and in which is such wealth, and from which can be derived such profit; and, that you may be able so to do, we think it well that you come to it, and endeavour (if, with the vessels and men that you have taken, it shall seem to you that you can do it) to make, here in the said Ceyllam, a fortress, and to leave in it some men and vessels, with which it can remain more secure; and it appears to us that you ought to use all endeavour for it, on account of the advantages that this island possesses: the first, through being such a rich and important thing, and having in it the fine cinnamon, and all the choicest of the seed-pearls and all the elephants of Jndia and many other wares and things of great value and profit; and being so near to Malaca and to the gulf of Bymgalla, whence comes all or the greater part of the food-stuffs of Jmdia;[3] and being near to Cayle;[4] and lying in the track of all the ships of Malaca and Bymgalla, and none being able to pass without being seen and known of in that part; and being near to the archipelago of the xij[5] islands, in which it is said there are many very rich and profitable, and to succeed in finding which every effort should be made; and the fortress that may be made there being so near to Jmdia, because, according to what we have learnt, it is a journey of two or three days;[6] and therefore it appears to us that your principal residence ought to be there, since it seems that there you are in the centre of everything, and that your being there gives more authority to our service and to your person; and moreover it would please us much to have this fortified residence made here, not only for all the reasons that

have been given, but because it would be a matter of very great pleasure and satisfaction to us that you and our fortress should be in Taprobana, although it is now called Ceyllam; regarding which, by all the authors of the world, so much has been said and written, and which has been held in such high honour, for its riches and other advantages; wherefore it will afford us very great pleasure if you do this here, and if your principal residence be in this island of Ceylam, since it appears that from here you can better provide for and assist in all things, than from any other part, on account of your being in the centre of all the fortresses and things that we have there, and, although it may seem that these things are many to be done in this voyage, since the beginning of them, and also the end to which they are brought, was all more by the hand of God, and done by him, through his infinite compassion, than for any other reason that there might be for it, as we hope in him that in everything he will grant us, in his compassion, help,—we are pleased to command that in all things it be so understood, and we hope that, for the accomplishment thereof, he may grant you his help; and we beg you earnestly that, for your part, you endeavour thus to do this on this journey, and as well as we trust in you to do; and we are very certain that what may be for our service cannot seem to you troublesome; and this matter we consider to be one of the principal in which you can serve us there.

[1] This was first printed in *Annaes Maritimas e Coloniaes*, 4 ser. (1844), pte. não off. 112–18. It is also printed in *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* iii. 268 ff. It is draft of a letter from the king to D. Francisco de Almeida, and is not dated; but as the letter was probably sent by the fleet of Tristão da Cunha and Affonso de Albuquerque, which left Lisbon in March or April 1506, it may safely be assigned to that period.

[2] The greater part of the letter is occupied with instructions to the viceroy to go in person to Malacca, build a fortress there, &c.; he is also told to inquire about Sumatra, its trade, &c. The last paragraph of the letter is the one here translated.

[3] *Cf.* Barbosa 179–80.

[4] Cael (see *supra*, A 16, note [2]).

[5] Twelve thousand. The "twelve thousand islands" are, of course, the Maldives (see Bell's *Maldive Islands* 4–5). *Cf.* C 20.

[6] *Cf.* A 22.

A 22.

Letter from King Manuel to Cardinal Alpedrinha.[1]

[? May 1506.]

......Uident enim iam futurum preter omnium mortalium spem: quia facilis sit indies armorum nostrorum continens per uagatio ac transitus non solum in plerasque alias orientales terras ac insulas innumeras et ipsam denique Taprobanam, alterum

aliquando orbem existimatum,[2] quatuor dierum nauigatione tantum ab oppidis nostris distantem,[3] sed etiam in intima Arabici et Persici sinuum littora ac terras ......

[1] This letter is undated, but, as its contents are based on information brought by Fernão Soares, who returned to Lisbon on 22 May 1506, it was probably written within a few days of that date. The extract here given is taken from the version of the letter printed in Rome, 7 November 1506, under the title *Gesta proxime per Portugalenses in India : Ethiopia : et aliis orinetalibus* [*sic*] *terris*. The letter describes the voyage of D. Francisco de Almeida in 1505—operations on the African coast, erection of forts at Anjadiva and Cananor, reception of envoys from the king of Narsinga, arrival at Cochin, expedition against Coulam ; and then, near the end, comes the passage quoted above.

[2] *Cf.* B 3.

[3] *Cf.* A 21.

A 23.

Report of Lunardo da Cha Masser.[1]

[? June or July 1506.]

In Silan are produced cinnamon, and rubies, and sapphires, jacinths, and Syriam garnets[2]: the which Silan is an island; and its king is heathen; its money is of silver, and is called *fanemini*,[3] which are worth 72 to the ducat. Moreover the said Portuguese have done a good trade in this place.[4]

[1] This is printed in *Archivio Storico Italiano, Appendice*, ii. 13–48. The writer was a secret agent of the Venetian republic, who had been sent to Portugal to gain all the information he could regarding the operations of the Portuguese in India. He arrived in Lisbon on 3 October 1504, and remained there until the summer of 1506. His report is a valuable document, and describes briefly the first nine voyages of the Portuguese to the East, giving also many details of the Indian trade, &c. The document is undated, but must have been written about June or July 1506.

[2] In original " granate suriane," which should mean " Syrian garnets ;" but as the garnets of Syriam, in Pegu, are famous for their beauty, I have translated the word thus.

[3] See *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. " Fanam."

[4] The original is : " Pur in questo loco hanno avuto recapito detti Portughesi." What exactly the writer meant I do not know ; but the Portuguese had not been to Ceylon when the ships that reached Lisbon in 1506 left India.

A 24.

Report regarding the East Indies by Vincenzo Quirini.[1]

[1506.]

...... In which island of Anzidua[2] the Portuguese have recently built a fortress very well supplied with everything in order to be able to receive the ships, and to be the permanent

headquarters of those that go a-pirating, the said island being so situated, that on the whole coast of India there is not another; from which island they then go to the coast of Cananor and Cucin to trade for goods with the natives. They reach there about the end of September, and there make an end of their voyage, nor do the ships, I mean those of merchandize, go further, as a rule, except some that cruise along the coast of India towards the south-west and south-east in order to discover newer countries, and to reach that famous staple of Malacca and the island of Taprobana, where the greater part of the ships of the Moors load.

* * * * * * *

Beyond this Malacca, at the end and the cape of India Minor, some hundred and fifty miles at sea more towards the south, is that very famous island that is called Taprobana, in which island is produced cinnamon and many other wares,[3] to which country the king of Portugal has ordered to be sent in this last voyage four ships with a factor, who had to remain in that place[4] and trade with the natives, who are heathen, as do the Moors.

[1] This is printed in the *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneto al Senato* of Eugenio Alberi, *Appendice*, 1–19. The writer, having accompanied Philip of Burgundy to Spain on the succession of the latter to the throne of Castille, took the opportunity, being on the border of Portugal, to gain "some information from various persons deserving of credit regarding the voyage to Calicut," in order to report the same to the Venetian senate. The document is undated, but was written probably in May or June 1506. Henry Harrisse, in his *Americus Vespuccius* 35, has "1506, October 10th (?)," evidently because on that day, according to the *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, Quirini made a verbal report to the senate of his mission to Spain, and, among other matters, "di le cosse di Coloqut, et di quella navegation, molto *diffuse* e le starie e porti." This document is, naturally, not so valuable as that of Leonardo Ca' Masser, and contains manifest errors, due to the writer's ignorance of the subject.

[2] Anjadiva.

[3] It will be noticed that the writer has confused, under the name of Taprobana, the two islands—Ceylon and Sumatra—whose claim to the title has formed the subject of so much controversy.

[4] Malacca. The "four ships" referred to were those under the command of Affonso de Albuquerque, as stated by Leonardo Ca' Masser.

B 1.

Letter of Gaspar da India to King Manuel.[1]

[16 November 1506.]

...... Sire, on the sixteenth of November Dom Lourenço called me into his room, and spoke to me after this manner: "You know, Gaspar, how I went to Ceilão and had Mygel[2] with me as interpreter, because at that time when I was about to leave for Ceilaom I could find no other interpreter, since your son[3] had left for Malaca[4] in the service of our lord the king, and my father was sending you to the port of Batecala on other business[5]; and so I came to the port of Ceylão, and might well have brought ten thousand cruzados' worth of tribute to our lord the king, and for want of such a man as you who know everything I brought nothing, since the whole of the cinnamon that I brought is worth in India two hundred and fifty cruzados.[6]......"

[1] This letter, written from Cochin, is printed in *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 371–80. It contains interesting details of events not recorded elsewhere. Regarding the writer see *supra*, A 1, note [2].

[2] This was probably the Brahman of whom Barros tells us (I. v. viii.) that, when Pedralvares Cabral was at Calecut in 1500, this man came to him and professed his desire to become a Christian; wherefore he was taken to Portugal and baptized by the name of Miguel. In the same chapter Barros relates that this man was sent by Pedralvares with a message to the king of Cochin.

[3] From a letter of 12 January 1506, from Gaspar Pereira to the king, printed in the same collection, we learn that the son's name was Baltesar.

[4] By way of the Coromandel coast, as stated by the writer on a previous page. The expedition left Cochin on 22 August 1506, but was a failure (see *supra*, p. 304).

[5] According to the writer's own statement in the early part of this letter he left on this mission in company with Gaspar Pereira on 1 September 1506 (but see p. 305, note †).

[6] According to the letter of King Manuel to the pope (see *infra*, B 3) the quantity of cinnamon brought from Ceylon by Dom Lourenço after his "discovery" was 150 quintals, which is also the amount given by Castanheda (*infra*, B 7), who, however, simply copies from D. Manuel's letter. Barros, on the other hand, says (see *infra*, B 8) that it was 400 bahars of cinnamon that D. Lourenço obtained; while Correa (see *infra*, B 9) does not specify the quantity, but tells us that at the time of D. Lourenço's visit cinnamon was worth (in Cochin, doubtless) one cruzado the bahar, "which," he adds, "is equal to four quintals." This valuation of the bahar is identical with that attributed to it by Leonardo Ca' Masser in 1506 and by Barbosa in 1516, while Varthema in 1510 says it was equal to only "three of our *cantari*" (see quotations in *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Bahar"). Couto also makes one quintal equal three bahars (see B 10, *infra*). Mr. Ravenstein, in his *First Voy. of V. da Gama*, pp. 103–4 *n.* gives a list of prices of various spices at Calecut calculated from those given by Barbosa. Adopting his basis of calculation (quintal = 100 lb., bahar = 460 lb., cruzado =

9*s*. 8*d*.), we find that Correa's estimate of the value of cinnamon in Calecut works out to about the same figure as that derived from Barbosa's, viz., 4*d*. a pound. Gaspar da Gama's valuation of the first tribute cinnamon (which he fathers on Dom Lourenço) works out at less than 2*d*. a pound; but the object of this under-valuation is evident.

B 2.

Summary of Letter from D. Francisco de Almeida to King Manuel.[1]

[27 December 1506.]

* * * * * * *

Item: how he sent Dom Lourenço to the islands of Maldiva and Quymdiquel.[2]

* * * * * * *

Item: that in Choromandel the ships of Malaca have a great trading port,[3] and Pegun and Çamatra whence come all the valuable things, and that on that coast the summer begins when in Cochy the winter commences,[4] which is at the beginning of May, and that because from then until September no vessel puts to sea, Dom Lourenço is at this time to visit the coast of Choromandel,[5] and that between this coast and Ceilam is a sandbank on which there is not more than ten spans of water.[6]

* * * * * * *

Item: the discovery that Dom Lourenço made of Ceylam, it has a point like that of Cananor[7] for making a fortress, and plenty of water and an excellent port, and he wishes to make it there and not in Coulam,[8] and Ceilam is in the direct course for Malaca, Peguu, and Çamatra, and Choromandel[9]; from there to Ceilam is seventy leagues.[10]

* * * * * * *

Item: the cross of Christos,[11] and the royal arms, and the device[12] have been left in Ceilam on a *padram*.[13]

Item: he deprived Lopo Chanoca of the command of the caravel, because he gave blows to the clerk.[14]

Item: that he[15] left for Ceylam at the end of September, and took the ship *Santo Sprito* to load cinnamon, and in a month hoped to make the fortress.[16]

* * * * * * *

[1] This valuable document is printed in *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* ii. 391-97. It forms part of a collection in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon entitled "Summary of all the letters that came to our lord the king, and of other messages that also came by the ships of which there came as captain-major Antonio de Saldanha, and by the ship of Cide Barbudo who came after him." In view of the irreparable loss of the viceroy's original letter, it is some consolation to have this pretty full *précis*; but the summarist appears to have sometimes failed to do justice to the contents of the original.

[2] "Maldiva" is Malé island, that being the name applied to it by the early Portuguese writers (*cf. infra*, C 2). "Quymdiquel" is Kendikoḷu in Miladummaḍulu Atol. The name is spelt "Camdicall" in a letter of 30 December 1520, from Alvaro Fernandez to the king, printed in *Alguns Documentos*; and similarly in the map of India by Fernão Vaz Dourado (*circa* 1570), reproduced in the *Com. of Af. Dalb.* ii. (see also Gray and Bell's Pyrard ii. 437 and note).

[3] Negapatam probably (see *supra*, A 18, note [2]).

[4] *Cf.* C 9.

[5] This intended visit was never carried out; but at the beginning of 1507 Manuel Paçanha was sent to the Coromandel coast with an armada (see Bar. II. I. iv.).

[6] *Cf. infra*, C 22, note [29].

[7] Advocates of the theory that Galle was the place at which Dom Lourenço called might consider this an argument in their favour, since at both Cananor and Galle the point on which the Portuguese erected fortress was to the left of ships entering the port, and not to the right, as at Columbo. However, we must not take "as at Cananor" to mean that the point in Ceylon occupied the same relative position to the port as the one at Cananor did.

[8] In his instructions from the king Dom Francisco was commanded, after he had returned from the Red Sea (an expedition he did not accomplish), to proceed to Coulam and erect a fort there if the king of that place gave his permission. The massacre of the Portuguese at Coulam in October 1505 (see p. 293) of course prevented the fulfilment of this order; and the viceroy was opposed to making peace with the raja on any conditions. In 1514, however, Albuquerque came to terms with the queen of Coulam; and a fortress was built there (in an underhand way, apparently) by Hector Rodrigues (see C 19, *infra*, and Cor. ii. 393–95, where a picture of the fortress is given).

[9] *Cf.* A 21, *supra*.

[10] The author of the *Com. of Af. Dalb.* (see A 16) makes the distance from Coulam to Ceylon "some eighty leagues," while the anonymous writer of *Calcoen* (see A 11) puts it at "1 miles." Most of the earlier writers quoted in A give ridiculously exaggerated figures for the distance between Calecut and Ceylon. The actual distance from Cochin to Colombo is some 360 miles. Regarding the Portuguese league, see the index to *First Voy. of V. da Gama* 245.

[11] The cross of Christus was what is termed a "cross pattée," *i.e.*, broadening out at the end of each limb. It is shown above the royal arms of Portugal on the rock discovered in September 1898 near the root of the Colombo Breakwater (see C. A. S. Jl. xvi. 17).

[12] The "device" was that of the sphere, as Cast. correctly says (see B 8).

[13] This *padrão* seems to have been in almost all respects similar to the one erected at Mombaça, as described by Cor. i. 559, viz., "a column of white marble and with its capital, and on the head of it the escutcheons of arms of the same stone carved into certain royal cinques (*quinas*), on the other side the escutcheon of the sphere, and on top the cross of Christ; and the column of the thickness of a thigh, and two fathoms in height" (see plate facing p. 312).

[14] Who the unfortunate "clerk" was, and what he had done to rouse the ire of "big" Lopo Chanoca, I do not know, as the facts here recorded are passed over by the historians.

[15] The original has "elle," to show that it was not the viceroy that was meant.

[16] On this see above, p. 312, note ¶.

B 3.

Exemplum litterarum regis Portugalliæ ad Julium pontificem maximum.[1]

[25 September 1507.]

Sanctissimo in Christo patri ac beatissimo domino, domino Julio, divina providentia summo pontifici, devotissimus ejus sanctitatis filius, Hemanuel, Dei gratia rex Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum citra et ultra in Africa, dominus Guinieæ et conquistæ navigationis ac icommercii Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ atque Indiæ, humillima pedum beatorum oscula.

Lætetur et exultet sanctitas vestra, beatissime pater, quod a solis ortu usque ad occasum germinat omnipotens Deus justitiam et laudem suæ Catholicæ fidei et isti sanctæ sedi coram universis gentibus, dum pro sua pietate in finibus terræ prosperum quotidie iter facit, vobis subjiciens per nos christianæ religioni novas gentes ac terras. Quarre dissipentur jam inimici ejus et fugiant qui oderunt ipsum a facie ejus. Vident insulæ et timent; extrema terræ obstupent; conturbantur saraceni; dare videtur jam vocem suam Altissimus et moveri terra, mare et plenitudo ejus in maximum christianæ gloriæ et infidelium dejectionis portentum, adeo ut mysterium indicæ et orientalis operationis nostræ, quod adhuc privato forsitan decori nostro et utilitati inservire videri potuit, non tam nobis quam isti sanctæ sedi et christianæ reipublicæ revelatum jam et laboratum clarissime appareat. Nam, ut omittamus pleraque, quæ pro sua omnipotentia immortalis Deus per nostros adversus saracenos superioribus annis illic operatus est, et in dies operatur; quæ proxime pari ejus indulgentia nobis tributa; inde nobis nunc lætissima sunt allata, summatim, pro epistolæ modo, audiat læta sanctitatis vestra. Cui jam cognitum arbitramur misisse nos superioribus annis pro nobis viceregem in terras illas orientales, qui pro rerum quotidie incremento, ut in bonum augeri solent quæ adeo sunt. majoribus viribus et auctoritate expeditionem illam administraret. Is, factis plurimis in hostes excursionibus, proxime dominum Laurentium de Almeida filium armata classe misit ad infestanda hostium litora ac terras. Qui etiam, ut erat jussus, accessit ad insulam illam nominatissimam Taprobanam,[2] alterum aliquando orbem existimatam, nunc ipsorum lingua Zeylom[3] appellatam; pro gestis[4] ad postulata nostra responso, seu pacem seu bellum daturus. Applicans itaque ad portem maximi et potentissimi regis, qui sex alios imperat, insulæ regibus mittit patris legatos, quos secum ferebat. Eos rex ipse quo pacto exceperit,[5] audiri pro rei[6] novitate non indignum.[7] Aula erat a mpliasima, in cujus extremo solium regium in altaris modum magnificentissime erat instructum.[8] In eo sedit rex pro diademate, juxta patrium morem, cornua in capite habens, pretiosissimis, qualis insula[9] fert, gemmis ornata. Circumstabant regium solium viri sex cum cereis magnis, quamvis interdiu, accensis,[10] tres a dextris,[11] tres a sinistris; multa etiam ac[12] magna candelabra argentea pariter incensa.[13] Aulam ab utraque parte complebat[14] magna procerum

et nobilium [15] multitudo, relicto intermedio spatio, qua [16] patebat liber et inoffensus ad regem aditus. Ibi [17] adeuntes legatos nostros rex honorificentissime suscipit,[18] gratissime audit [19] et humanissime ad postulata respondet,[20] omnia cum nostris obsequentissime pacificans ;[21] in quibus etiam se quotannis centum quinquaginta cantaria cinnamomi in ea insula excellentissimi nobis pensurum pollicetur,[22] primam illico pensionem persolvens ; in quam quidem summam nostri perinde [23] consensere, si gratum ad [24] viceregi nostro foret. Confecto sic Taprobanæ insula [25] negotio, nostri inde degressi nonnulla oppida saracenorum maritima in continenti sita expugnavere et igni consumpsere, captatoque simul toto mari magno hostilium navium numero, et in his ingenti preda, infesta et sollicita omnia saracenis reddidere......

Ex oppido Abrantes,[26] xxv° septembris MDVII.

[1] There are several variants of this letter extant. The copy from which I quote is printed in the *Diarii di Marino Sanuto* vi. 198–201 (see *infra*, B 6). Another (very faulty) is printed in Rebello da Silva's *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* i. 116–19, the source from which it was taken being thus described in a footnote :—" Ex Cod. Vat. Regio 557, pag. 88. Copy of the XVIIIth century, in the Bibliotheca de Ajuda. Symmicta lusitanica, MSS. of the Vatican, tom. ii. f. 212." There is also a manuscript copy in the British Museum Library (Bibliotheca Harleiana 3468—Tractatus varii historici, philolog., &c., p. 115). This letter and that to the cardinals (see *infra*, B 4) were printed at Rome (probably) in 1507 (?) in the form of a small quarto pamphlet, in black letter, with the title : *Epistole serenissimi Regis Portugalie de victoria contra infideles habita. Ad Julium papam Secundum et ad sacrum Collegium Reuendissimorum* [*sic*] *dominorum Cardinalium.* There is a copy of this rare pamphlet in the Grenville Library at the British Museum (G. 6953. 1.), in which is pasted a slip with the following manuscript note (? by Heber, the former owner of the book): " Emanuelis Epistola ad Julium 2 de victoria 4° 1507. I have another different edition with the same date, which contains an additional letter of King Emanuel to the College of Cardinals : it is difficult to ascertain the priority of these two editions." I do not understand the reference here to another different edition containing an *additional* letter to the cardinals : the only letter to the cardinals that I know of is that quoted from below (B 4), and this, as I have said, is printed in this edition. The letter to the pope occupies four pages, and that to the cardinals two. Of this edition the British Museum Library possesses another defective copy, wanting the title-page and the letter to the cardinals. In the Grenville Library of the British Museum are two copies of a different edition of the first letter. One of these copies (G. 6953. 2.) is bound up with G. 6953. 1. (and it seems probable that the slip referred to above ought to have been pasted in this second pamphlet, and not in the first). The title of this edition is: *Epistola serenissimi Regis Portugalie ad Julium papam Secundum de victoria contra infideles habita.* The letter is printed in roman type, with very few stops ; and there are transpositions of words, and slight variations and omissions. Like the other edition, this one has no date or place of printing ; and it is difficult to judge whether this was a hastily printed first edition, or a carelessly printed second edition. The other copy in the Grenville Library (G. 6952. 3.) is identical with G. 6953. 2. It is bound up with some other pamphlets, and contains a slip with a manuscript note (by Grenville), from which I quote the following : ".......

Epistola Emanuelis R. ad Julium P. s. a. [*sine anno*] sed 1507-9.—The epistle at the end of this volume, from Emanuel King of Portugal to Pope Julius 2*d*, 1507, is a very curious and rare document. Francesco [*sic*] d'Almeida was the first Portuguese Viceroy in India where he continued from 1505 to 1509 when he was succeeded by the famous Albuquerque.—Laurentius [*sic*] Almeida son to Francesco first landed in Ceylon in 1505, and in this Epistle a curious account is given of his reception by the King of Ceylon—this is followed by an account of a great naval engagement with the fleet of the King of Calicut, which was defeated by Laur: Almeida who is said in the epistle to have also discovered a great island in 1506 (probably Madagascar).—...... The Epistola Emanuelis is evidently printed by Minutianus probably between 1507 and 1509, which latter is the date of the accompanying oration." The "accompanying oration" is one of the pamphlets bound up with this letter, and bears the title: *Oratio Jacobi Antiquarii pro populo Mediol.*; while the imprint is: "Impressum Mediolani per Alexandrum minutianum die xxviii. Junii. Mcccccix. cura & impensa Franchini Gaffurii laudensis cum priuilegio." Why the mere coincidence that the epistle happens to be bound up with the oration should have led the great bibliophilist to such a strange conclusion as that expressed at the end of his note I cannot understand, nor do I see anything to warrant his statement. Nor does the epistle, as he states, credit D. Lourenço de Almeida with the discovery of a great island in 1506; the island referred to (doubtless Madagascar, though the location given in the letter better suits Socotra) was "discovered" by "another fleet," that of Tristão da Cunha, as the king distinctly says. In the following notes I have given some variant readings, chiefly those of G. 6953. 1.

[2] The version in *Corpo Dipl. Port.* has "Caprobanam."

[3] G. 6953. 1. and C. 32, f. 14. have "Zoylam"; G. 6953. 2. and G. 6952. 3. have "Toilo"; *Corp. Dipl. Port.* has "Zoilon"; and Bibl. Harl. 3462 has "Ceyloni."

[4] In G. 6953. 1. "gentis."

[5] G. 6953. 1. "acceptaverit."

[6] G. 6953. 1. omits.

[7] G. 6953. 1. adds "remur."

[8] G. 6953. 1. "extructum."

[9] G. 6953. 1. inserts "illa."

[10] G. 6953. 1. "interdum incensis."

[11] G. 6953. 1. inserts "et."

[12] G. 6953. 1. omits.

[13] G. 6953. 1. has "argentea candelabra candelis desuper positis pariter incensis."

[14] G. 6953. 1. "complebant."

[15] G. 6953. 1. inserts "aderat."

[16] G. 6953. 1. "quo."

[17] G. 6953. 1. "Ubi."

[18] G. 6953. 1. "suscepit."

[19] G. 6953. 1. "audivit."

[20] G. 6953. 1. "respondit."

[21] G. 6953. 1. "pacificando."

[22] G. 6953. 1. "pollicebatur."

[23] G. 6953. 1. "ita."

[24] G. 6953. 1. "id."

[25] G. 6953. 1. "Taprobane insule."

[26] *Cf.* Barros II. iv. iii. The king was staying in Abrantes, because of the prevalence of plague in the capital (see *Com. of Af. Dalb.* i. 20)

B 4.

Sacro reverendissimorum in Christo patrum dominorum cardinalium sanctæ romanæ atque universalis ecclesiæ venerandoque collegio.[1]

[25 September 1507.]

......Excederemus profecto epistolæ modum, si singula superioribus illic gesta annis percurramus. Verum, quæ inde lætissima nunc nobis sunt allata, latius, ut facta sunt cognosci digna, sanctissimo Domino nostro scribimus, quorum communem gratulationem sanctitatem suam vestris reverendissimis patribus impartituram pro comperto habemus. Ea sunt in primis, factam proxime nobis tributariam famosissimam illam Taprobanam insulam scriptisque maxime celebratam ; habitam simul a nostris insignem de saracenis maritimam victoriam ; et nonnullos alios de divina indulgentia successus, quibus maxime christianum nomen cum magna infidelium admiratione et terrore exaltatur in universa terra ......

Ex oppido Abrantes, xxv° die septembris, anno 1507.

[1] I quote from the copy printed in the *Diarii de Mar. Sanuto* vii. 201-3. There is also a manuscript copy in the British Museum Library (Bibl. Harl. 3462, p. 118). As mentioned above (B 3, note [1]), the letter was printed in 1507 (?) after the king's letter to the pope.

B 5.

Oration of Fr. Egidio de Viterbo to Pope Julius II.[1]

[21 December 1507.[2]]

......Sed ut id deus felicitati daret tuæ, quod nemo ante te dari posse, ne suspicatus est quidem, Emmanuelem in Lusitania Regem creat iustitiâ, moderatione, ac præcipue summa pictate præditum facit : ut hic regno potiretur in regnum vocatus, sese, ingenium, Regni vires Divino cultui dedicat : naves per altum oceanum mittit gentes, populos que quæsitum, ad quas perferat christianum nomen : multos id annos agit multo labore : multa impensa : denique universum Africæ littus permensus, quod magno occeano alluitur, quantum à freto Gaditano et à columnis herculeis in Arabicum et Erithreum patet, multis in indico littoris gestis ; Principibus, populis que debellatis, aromatum mercatora Ægypti, Syriæ que Regi ablata ; tandem Taprobanen penetrat alterum (ut inquit Plinius) orbem terrarum habitam. Numerosisimam classem indorum, christo potius ope, quam virium magnitudine fretus, vincit : victor Taprobanes Regem magnum sex imperantem Regibus tributum solvere quotannis compelit, primus que aperuit eo sub cælo christianum

nomen; primus eo sub cælo jecit fundamenta religionis tuæ: ac sacri imperii tui fines primus eousque gentium propagavit. Tu nuncio accepto fælicitatis et christianæ et tuæ, Deo acceptum refers; supplicationes decernis; solemnia statuis; Senatum accersis; populum que romanum, te in vaticana æde spectandum exhibes, dum ad aram maximam pronus supplex que gratias deo agis. Eo die, qui Divo Thomæ indorum consecratus est, quem nostris affuisse creditum, bene apud indos gestis rebus, jussisti coram te sacrosancto que senatu astante me verba habere de ingenti beneficio, quod à Deo optimo maximo grex tuus te pastore susceperat; quod te præsede Lusitanus Rex fines sacratissimi imperii tui ad indos usque produxisset; quod in novum terrarum orbem inventum auream attulisset ætatem. Cum que obtemparassem ac pro rostris de ætate aurea, quam India ab aureo Rege receperat, non nihil in medium adduxissem. Mandas iterum quæ dixeram scriberem; ac legenda darem; feci equidem quod præcipis; atque ea quæ de aurea ætate, de que partibus ejus quatuor, ac felicissima Lusitani Regis victoria eo die disserui, in libellum redegi ......

* * * * * * *

...... Nunc cum Lusitanus Rex indica illorum maria vicerit, superbos, contumaces que animos domuerit, atque auream vitam agere jusserit; jam tertio ad dicendum vocatus, de tertia victoria tua, quam tibi Apostolicus Rex peperit, ut potui locutus sum. Has vero tres institutiones, quibus in has tres gentes fælicissime usus es, a latino scriptore constitutas invenio. Ubi optimi principis mores in rebus à te præclare gentes recognosces. Nam Perusia, Bononia, Taprobane (uti æquum justum que fuerat) pacem, veniam, bellum pacasti; faciles difficilibus pepercisti; superbos bello armis que debellasti......

[1] The manuscript of this oration, beautifully written on 80 leaves of parchment (the first is missing), with gilt edges, and bound in pink satin, is in the public library of Evora in Portugal. A description of it, with several lengthy extracts, is given in tom. i. of Cunha Rivara's *Catalogo dos Manuscriptos da Bibliotheca Publica Eborense;* and it is from this volume that I quote the passages here given. Frei Egidio de Viterbo was, at the time when he delivered this oration, prelate-general of the Augustine order; he afterwards became cardinal, patriarch of Constantinople, &c. This oration, which is not mentioned in any of the works referring to the author, is entirely a eulogy of the pope and King Manuel.

[2] There is no date to the manuscript, but in the first passage quoted the oration is said to have been delivered on St. Thomas's day (21 December), and that the year was 1507 is proved by the reference to Taprobane and by the statement in the letter from Rome quoted in the diaries of Marino Sanuto (see *infra*, B 6). Curiously enough, the eminent scholar to whom we are indebted for that priceless treasure the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, as well as other valuable works, has blundered over the date. After the last extract he puts the following note: "We quote all these passages in full in order that we may arrive at a conclusion as to the epoch of this oration, which we have no hesitation in placing on St. Thomas's day in the year 1505. For shortly before had taken place the expeditions of the pope against Perugia and Bologna, and it

was in the above year that D. Lourenço de Almeida, son of the first viceroy of India, D. Francisco de Almeida, went with Portuguese for the first time to Ceylon, or Taprobane, and made a chief of it tributary to the king of Portugal. (*Vide* Couto, Decad. 5, l. 1, cap. 7, and Castanheda, l. 2, cap. 24.)" The numbers of the chapters in both these references are wrong (see *infra*, B 7 and B 11). Couto is the only one of the two writers who distinctly says that Dom Lourenço's landing took place in 1505, though Castanheda certainly seems to imply it. But the papal expeditions against Perugia and Bologna took place in 1506, and not in 1505 as Sr. Rivara states; so that the oration could not possibly have been delivered in the latter year. That 1507 is the real date there cannot be the least doubt.

B 6.

I Diarii di Marino Sanuto[1] vii. 235.

[December 1507.]

21st, St. Thomas's Day ......

From Rome.—Secret matters *inter caetera.* That the pope had read in consistory a letter written to him by the king of Portugal, saying that his caravels had gone as far as the island of Taprobano [*sic*]. And that they had spoken with that king, who had on his head a crown of the most beautiful gems, and, although it was day, there were hidden (?)[2] candles, so that the gems might be seen shining. Which king had agreed to be a friend of the king of Portugal's, and his tributary with a certain amount of spices, &c., *ut in litteris*; I shall note the treaty below. And that the pope had said that he was thinking of bestowing some title of honour upon the king of Portugal, just as the king of France has that of Most Christian, the king of Spain that of Catholic, etc.

* * * * * * *

28th. After dinner there were prayers. And the following etters were read:

From Rome from the orator.[3]—Sends the copy of the letter from the king of Portugal to the pope, regarding the progress to the islands discovered by his caravels, which had gone as far as the island of Taprobana, the copy of which shall be entered below.[4] And on the 21st, St. Thomas's day, a solemn procession was made on this account in Rome,[5] etc. ......

[1] This invaluable work, containing diaries written in Venice by Marino Sanuto the younger, and extending over a large number of years, has been published by the Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria.

[2] The word in the original is *impiati*, the meaning of which I am not sure of.

[3] The word "orator" is here used in the sense of "ambassador" (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). The person referred to was Zuan Badoer (or Giovanni Badoaro), doctor and knight, a member of a noted

Venetian family. He left Venice for Rome on 9 March 1507. Afterwards he went as ambassador to Spain, and then to France (see Rawdon Brown's *Cal. of State Papers—Venice, &c.*, vols. 2 and 3 *passim*).

[4] Through some error the copies of the king's letters to the pope and cardinals are printed, with a number of other documents, after the diarist's entries for November: they should evidently have been inserted at the end of December.

[5] See *supra*, B 5.

B 7.

Instructions given by King D. Manuel regarding certain paintings that he commanded to be made, in which were to be depicted the discovery of India, various costumes thereof, and some of the incidents of the first years of its conquest.[1]

[1510 ? [2]]

* * * * * * *

Item. The discovery of Taprobana: and how the ships arrive and set up the *padram*; and how the king of the country received the ambassadors, and the fashion in which they say that he was; and how those of the country bring loads of cinnamon to put in the ships.

[1] These are printed in *Alg. Doc.* 516–18.

[2] The document is undated, but I think we may safely place it at the end of 1510, for the following reasons: It records the burning of Calecut, which took place in January 1510, and the news of which would have reached the king by the ships that arrived at Lisbon in October following; but it does not refer to the capture of Goa in November 1510—an event that the king would hardly have failed to mention had he known of it when he gave these instructions.

B 8.

Castanheda ii. caps. lxx., lxxiii.

[November 1505 ?]

...... And after this, on the 2nd of November, the viceroy began to send the ships that had to return to Portugal, to take in their cargoes. And he also sent some ships and smaller vessels to relieve the fortresses of Cananor and Anjadiva: and he ordered Dom Lourenço to go in the ship of Felipe Rodrigues[1] to the islands of Maldiva, which are sixty leagues from the coast of India, and to make prizes of many ships and junks which he knew for a fact were passing by there, both from Malaca, and from Çamatra, and from Bengala, and from other countries of the southern parts, and which were carrying much spicery, drugs, gold, silver, and

other riches in great quantity; and he sent with him Lopo Chanoca[2] and Nuno Vaz Pereira.[3]

* * * * * * *

Dom Lourenço having set sail for the islands of Maldiva with the other captains, as his pilots were as yet new to that course, they did not take heed to guard against the currents, which are strong in that latitude, and these made them miss the islands and brought them in sight of the cape of Comorim where land winds were blowing, and by the help of these Dom Lourenço directed his course for the island of Ceilão, whither the viceroy had ordered him to go ......

Dom Lourenço directing his course toward this island made landfall at the port of Gabaliquamma,[4] which our people now call the port of Gale: and his arrival becoming known to the lord of the country, the latter feared that he would burn the ships that were in the port, or devastate his country, as he had not enough men to venture to defend it; wherefore he at once sent a message to Dom Lourenço offering peace and friendship with him, and that he would do all that was in reason. And as this agreement could not be made without someone of our people's going ashore, the king having given hostages for the safety of the person who should go, Dom Lourenço sent on shore a knight named Fernão Cotrim[5] that he might make the compact: and he having arrived at the king's palace[6] found him at the end of a very large room seated on a very handsome dais made in the form of an altar; he was clad in a silken *bajo*,[7] which is a garment after the fashion of a close jacket, and girt with a cloth likewise of silk which reached to his knees, and thence downwards barelegged, with many rings on his fingers and toes; and in place of a crown he had on his head a cap with two horns of gold and very fine precious stones, and he had earrings of the same. On each side of the dais were three of his gentlemen who held lighted wax candles although it was day, and there were also many other lighted Moorish candlesticks of silver in every part of the room, which was full of many gentlemen and nobles of the country, and between them was left a passage, by which Fernão Cotrim came to where the king was by whom he was very well received, and they thereupon both agreed to friendship and a treaty, and that the king should give every year as tribute to the king of Portugal one hundred and fifty quintals of cinnamon; and this was agreed to on condition that the viceroy were satisfied with it, and this cinnamon was at once delivered to Dom Lourenço. And whilst it was being loaded, he ordered to be erected on the shore, with the consent of the king, a stone *padrão* with the arms of Portugal at one end and the device of the sphere at the other[8]: and this in token that that country was at peace with the Portuguese. All these matters having been concluded, Dom Lourenço turned about for Cochim, and on the way captured several Moorish ships.[9] And on his arrival at Cochim he gave the viceroy an account of what had befallen him, and of what had been agreed to with the lord of Gale, whom he thought to be the proper king of Ceilão; and he was greatly pleased with the cinnamon, to be able to send it to

Portugal by Johão da Nova or by Vasco Gomez Dabreu, whose ships had begun to load with a view to leaving for Portugal...... And he afterwards dispatched Johão da Nova and Vasco Gomez Dabreu, to whom he intrusted an elephant to take to his lord the king on account of its being so strange a beast in Portugal, whither they set sail in February 1506, and Johão da Nova was driven back from the Cape of Good Hope, his ships making so much water that he was not able to proceed further, and wintered at the island of Zanzibar; and Vasco Gomez wintered in Moçambique, because it was very late when he arrived there, and the westerly winds were already blowing.[10]

[1] In chap. xxv. Felipe Rodriguez is mentioned as captain of the ship *Spera* (*Esphera* or *Esfera*).
[2] See *supra*, B 2.
[3] See *infra*, B 9.
[4] See *infra*, C 22, note [27].
[5] See *infra*, B 9, B 10.
[6] *Cf.* what follows with the account in B 3.
[7] Malay *báju* (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Badjoe").
[8] The arms and device were one on each *side*, not at each *end* (*cf.* B 2, note [12]). The sphere was a device bestowed upon Dom Manuel by King João II. Regarding the *padrões* see *Three Voy. of V. da Gama* 73, 141; *First Voy. of V. da Gama* 169–7
[9] *Cf.* B 9.
[10] On the foregoing see *supra*, p. 298.

B 9.

Barros I. x. v.

[1506 ?]

The Moors who engaged in the traffic of the spiceries and riches of India, seeing that with our entrance into it they could no longer make their voyages because of these armadas that we maintained on the Malabar coast, at which they all called, sought for another new route by which to convey the spiceries that they obtained from the parts about Malaca, such as cloves, nutmegs, mace, sandalwood, pepper, which they obtained from the island of Çamatra at the ports of Pedir and Pacem and many other things from those parts; which route they followed by coming outside of the island of Ceilam and between the islands of Maldiva, crossing that great gulf until they reached the mouths of the two straits that we have mentioned,[1] in order to avoid this coast of India which we had closed to them. When the viceroy learnt of this new route that they were taking, and also of the island of Ceilam, where they loaded cinnamon because all that was to be found in those parts was there, on the ground of the great importance that it would be to the king's service to stop that route, and to discover

that island and also those of Maldiva, by reason of the coir that was obtained from them, which was the one essential for all the Indian navigation, all the rigging being made of it,[2] he determined to send his son Dom Lourenço on this enterprise, it being the monsoon weather for that passage. The latter took nine sail of those that formed his armada; and owing to the little knowledge that our people had of that route, although they took with them some natives, they were carried by the currents to the island of Ceilam, which the ancients call Tapobrana, regarding which we shall give a copious relation when we come to describe what Lopo Soarez did there when he founded a fortress in one of its ports called Columbo,[3] which is fourteen leagues above that of Gale, at which Dom Lourenço made landfall, which is at the point of the island, in which he found many ships of Moors, who were engaged in loading cinnamon, and elephants for Cambaya, who, when they saw themselves surrounded by our armada, in order to secure their persons and property, pretended to desire peace with us, and that the king of Ceilam had enjoined upon them that when they crossed over to the coast of India they were to notify the viceroy to send him some person to conclude peace and friendship with the king of Portugal on account of his proximity to his captains and the fortresses that they were making in India, and also because of the cinnamon that was in that island of his and other wares, which he could give him for the loading of his ships by way of trade. As Dom Lourenço had set out to discover and capture the ships of the Moors of Mecha which were sailing from the strait to Malaca by that new route, and as by the cargo of elephants that these had, as well as from other information that he received from the native pilots that he carried, he knew them to be ships of Cambaya, with which we were not at war, he did not wish to do them any harm, and also because of arriving with an armed force at that part where the Moors had spread the report that the Portuguese were sea-pirates; so he rather accepted what they offered on behalf of the king. And by their means he got together some of the people of the country, with whose approval he erected a stone *padram* on a rock, and upon it ordered to be cut some letters saying how he had arrived there, and had discovered that island; and Gonçalo Gonçalvez, who was the stone-cutter that did the work, although he was not a Hercules to boast of the *padrões* of his discovery, because these were in a place of such renown, put his name at the foot of it; and so Gonçalo Gonçalvez remains more truly the stone-cutter of that pillar than Hercules is the author of many that the Greeks attribute to him in their writings. When the Moors saw that Dom Lourenço trusted in the words that they spoke to him on behalf of the king, they pretended to go and come with messages to him, and finally brought four hundred *bahares* of cinnamon of that which they had collected on shore for loading, saying that the king in token of the peace and amity which he desired to have with the king of Portugal, although it had not been agreed to by his ambassadors, offered him all that cinnamon to load his ships with, if he wished. And because Dom Lourenço said that he wished to send a message to the king, they

offered to take and bring back the persons that he should select for that purpose, who were, Payo de Sousa,[4] who went in the capacity of ambassador, and for his clerk Gaspar Diaz son of Martim Alho a resident of Lisbon, and Diogo Velho[5] a servant of Dom Martinho de Castellobranco the king's comptroller of revenue, who afterwards became Conde de Villanova, and one Fernam Cotrim,[6] and other persons of his service. These being intrusted to the Moors who had arranged this expedition were conducted through such dense thickets that they could scarcely see the sun, taking so many turns that it seemed to them more like a labyrinth than a direct road to any place[7]; and after travelling for a whole day they brought them to an open place, where were many people, and at the end of it were some houses of wood which seemed to be something superior, where they said he [the king] had come to take his pleasure, that place being a kind of country-seat. At the end of this open space, at a good distance from the houses, they made them wait, saying that it was not proper for them to go further without leave of the king; and they began to go and come with messages and questions to Payo de Sousa, as if they came from the king, feigning to be pleased at his coming. Finally, Payo de Sousa with only two of his company was conducted to that place, where, according to the Moors, was the person of the king; and as soon as they reached him he at once dispatched them, feigning to be pleased at seeing things of the king of Portugal's, giving thanks to Payo de Sousa for coming and to the captain-major for sending them to him; and saying that as regarded the peace and amity that he desired to have with the king of Portugal, he would send his ambassadors to Cochij, and that in token thereof he had sent the cinnamon, and would order to be given them whatever they might need for the provision of the armada; and with this he dispatched him. The which manner of Payo de Sousa's going and coming at the hand of these Moors, and his arrival at this place, and the conversation that he had with this person, who they told him was the king of Ceilam,—the whole was a trick of theirs, and in a way a representation of things that did not exist, part of which Payo de Sousa understood, and afterwards knew of a truth. For this man with whom he spoke, although from the bearing of his person and the reverence paid to him by his people he seemed to be what they said, was not the king of Ceilam, but the lord of the port of Galle[8]; and others had it that it was not he, but some other noble personage, who by his order and the artifice of the Moors showed himself to our people in that manner and place, to the end that for that time they might secure their ships; and whilst they were occupied in this, they would collect the goods that they had on shore, which they did. When Dom Lourenço learnt from Payo de Sousa what had passed, and perceived how matters stood, he dissembled with the Moors; because, as that island was under a heathen king (although at that time there was no certain knowledge of its affairs), it seemed to him that whether it were he with whom Payo de Sousa spoke, or not, the whole might have been arranged by him, all the heathen kings being very superstitious in their

mode of communication with us, and that perchance the Moors had frightened him that he should not do it; so without desiring to inquire further into the matter, because the weather would not allow his remaining longer in that port, where he ran risks, he set sail to return to Cochij. And because Nuno Vaz Pereira,[9] through the rough weather that had forced them to leave, broke the main yard of his ship, he found it necesary to return once more to the port, where he found that our *padram* was already blackened by fire, as if they had lighted one at the foot of it; and on asking the reason of this of the Moors who were there, they laid the blame on the heathens of the country, saying that the latter being an idolatrous people had their fancies about a thing wherever it was made. Nuno Vaz, dealing with the matter in the form of threats if they carried this further, overlooked the past offence; and having mended the yard of his ship returned to Dom Lourenço, whom he found on the coast of India in a place called Berinjam,[10] which is in the lordship of Coulam. And because some Moors who were there had taken part in the murder of Antonio de Sá,[11] Dom Lourenço went ashore and burnt the village, in which affair moreover there was bloodshed, both of the natives and of our people, owing to the resistance that they made to the landing and the burning of certain ships that were there awaiting cargo; and having taken this revenge for the injury that those Moors had done,[12] Dom Lourenço left for Cochij, where he arrived with his fleet.[13]

[1] The reference is to Dec. I., liv. VIII., cap. i., in which Barros describes the spice trade as it was carried on before the Portuguese arrived in India. The "two straits" are those of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

[2] *Cf.* C 12. In Dec. III., liv. III., cap. vii., in describing the Maldive islands, Barros treats of coir in more detail.

[3] See *infra*, C 24 and C 26. It is in Dec. III., liv. II., cap. i., that Barros fulfils the promise here made.

[4] In Osorio, *De Rebus Emmanuelis*, &c. (1571), 170, this name appears as "Pelagius Sousa," and in this form it occurs in later writers (*cf.* Val. *Ceylon* 90). Regarding Payo de Sousa see *supra*, p. 302, note ‡.

[5] According to Bar. (II. II. viii.) this man was killed with D. Lourenço at Chaul in 1508.

[6] See B 8, B 10.

[7] *Cf.* B 13.

[8] See *infra*, C 24.

[9] See *supra*, p. 307, note †.

[10] In liv. IX., cap. i., of this Decade Barros spells the name "Berinjan." The place intended is Vilinjum near Covelong Point, some miles south of Trevandrum in Travancore.

[11] At Quilon in October 1505, as Barros relates in liv. IX., cap. iv., Dom Lourenço avenged the murder in November by burning all the shipping in the port.

[12] It will be noticed that neither Castanheda nor Correa mentions this affair.

[13] It is strange that Barros says not a word regarding the reception by the viceroy of the news of his son's "discovery."

B 10.

Correa i. 643, 644, 646.

[? August 1506.]

The work of the fortress [of Cochin] having been comple
and the armada having also made an end of repairing, the vic
having had information of the many ships that traversec
islands of Maldiva to Meca, which came from Pegú, and Siam
Bengala, resolved to send Dom Lourenço with the armada, t
what like were the islands, and if the ships that passed cou
captured, and allotted to him two ships and two caravels, a g
and a brigantine that had been recently built.[3]

* * * * * * *

The viceroy ordered Dom Lourenço to set sail in a good
the captain of which was Lopo Cabral, and in the other M
Telles, and Gonçalo de Paiva and Pero Rafael in caravels
André da Silveira in the galley, and André Galo in a briga
that had been recently built;[3] and in this fleet gentleme
armed men, as many as three hundred men well equipped
the armada provided with all that was needed, which left Co
on the 1st of August,[4] carrying good pilots supplied by the
of Cochym.

* * * * * * *

Having set sail from Cochym Dom Lourenço went trav
the islands of Maldiva;[5] and because the pilots did not
good heed to avoid the currents, they sailed for eighteen
without seeing the islands, and made landfall at Ceylão, wl
the currents took them, and by good luck came to land i
principal port of the island, called Columbo, which Dom
renço entered with his armada, and anchored where were
ships, which were loading cinnamon and very small eleph
in which there is a great trade to all parts, especially to Cam
many being produced in this island, and in this port they wer
loading fresh coconuts and dried ones from which they e
oil, and much arecanut, all of which fetches high prices in
baya; and were also loading masts and yards and timber,
they were taking to sell in Ormuz with cinnamon, becaus
island of Ceylão has good wood in great abundance.[6] On en
Dom Lourenço ordered the brigantine to overhaul all the
to see what was in them and whence they were, which
three large ships of Calecut with cinnamon and elephants
other ships of the said Cambaya. All the ships were wi
people, because all had fled on shore on seeing Dom Lou
entering. Then Dom Lourenço sent his men in the boats t
up the anchors of the ships of Calecut, and brought them a
our ships.

The Moors of these ships had told the king of Ceylão
evils of us, that we went about the sea robbing and murd
and that whatever we did not want, in order that it might

ce to no one, we burnt ; and that on land we took merchan- by force, and paid what we liked ; and that we carried off romen and children ; and many other evils, which the king all the people had fully believed, because all told the same ; and that the captives, fastened with chains, were em- d in rowing the galleys.[7] The Moors, seeing our armada ing, hastened to tell it to the king, that our armada was in ort, at which he was much affrighted, and at once took sel thereon as to what he ought to do, when it was resolved, e advice of the Moors, to send a large force to the port to nt our people from landing ; and he sent a message to ask he wanted in his port, in which he would give him all the tainment that was meet. Dom Lourenço sent him reply ie was going to the islands of Maldiva, and that the pilots had pted badly, so that he had chanced to come there ; that he merchant, that he carried goods which he sold, and bought that were on land, with good peace and friendship, if he d to have it and agree to it with him, and if not that he l go his way when the weather served, because he was a of the king of Portugal's, who was lord of the sea of the whole l, and who did good to the good who desired his peace, and o the evil.

e king having heard this answer was very glad, and relieved the fears that the Moors had instilled into him, saying that s well that they did evil to those who did not desire peace ; et being in doubt, not being certain of the truth of the mes- because the Moors had told him that our people with pro- ns of friendship entered countries, and afterwards commit- bberies and other evils in them, the king, in order to know the , sent word to Dom Lourenço, with a present of much pro- , that he rejoiced and was very glad on hearing his message, hat he desired all peace and friendship, and asking that fore he would send someone to speak with him, and to ge the matters that he desired ; and for the security of the n who should go he sent his ring, which was the token of his ; this was a catseye, a stone of great price, which he sent trusty man of his household. Dom Lourenço paid much r to the messenger, showing great pleasure, and ordered to ren him a piece of fine scarlet cloth, and returned to the king ng, saying that in the case of low people it was necessary to he wife and children in pledge of truth, but from great kings im he did not require any pledge but his word, which was e than gold or precious stones. And with this message he Diogo d'Almeida,[8] a gentleman, to whom he gave directions ding all he was to say and do ; and as a present he sent the a piece of velvety crimson satin, asking his pardon, as he had ng else wherewith to pay for the provision that he had sent ; se if he had come direct to Ceylão he would have brought with to make a present such as befitted so great a king. d'Almeida, well clad, with four men went with the mes- r, and on arriving the king did him much honour, because

he had never seen any Portuguese, and on hearing the message of Dom Lourenço was very glad, and received the present, saying to his followers that were with him : "The Moors carried on their business with these men with evil deeds, and therefore found evil in them ; and all that they said of them is false. Inasmuch as I now see that these men are so good that they would rather trust in my word than in my pledge, and without hostages come and speak with me inside my house ; therefore I say that they are good men, and only do evil to those that wish to do them evil." He then inquired of Diogo d'Almeida what it was the captain desired, and he replied : "Sir, the captain of that armada is the son of the viceroy of India, and they are slaves of the king of Portugal, the greatest lord that there is in the world, and they have come to India with many goods, to sell and buy with the folk who are good merchants, in all the countries that desire peace and treaty relations with them ; and to make war on any that may not desire peace, because the thing that they are most delighted to buy is good faith, which wherever they find it good they purchase for ever, and purchase it with very good deeds, even to giving their lives and whatever they have for their friends. But when they have thus agreed to a good peace, and break it without justice and reason, they then take vengeance with fire and sword. And towards their good friends they hold friendship as with own brothers, guarding their ports, and people, and vessels wherever they find them, because the Portuguese are lords of the sea. The captain has sent me to say to you, that if you shall approve of thus settling with him this friendship and good peace he will establish a trade with this country, and if you agree to this he will consider himself fortunate to have arrived at this port of yours ; he is now waiting for you to send him a reply regarding this, and says that if you conclude this peace with him, in order that he may know that you keep it firmly like a good friend, you will have to send him every year, when our ships come here, something good, as it shall please you, to be sent to the king of Portugal, in order that he may know that you continue at peace with him, and that he likewise may send you his gift; because if you do not thus each year give this of your own good-will, he will not know if you are his friend or not ; and by doing this your territories, and ports, and vessels will remain secure for ever, without anyone's making war on you or doing you harm. And if anyone should make war on you, they will send you an armada, and soldiers, and will help you against your enemies like own brothers ; and if you do not desire this peace you will remain his enemy, and they will do harm to everything of yours wherever they shall find it : on which you can take counsel, and choose what you approve of."

The king, while listening to what Diogo d'Almeida said, had settled in his heart what reply he would give, and answered that he was very pleased with all that he had said, if only the deeds should be equal to the words : and that he desired peace as he had said, as to which he must give him his bond, and that every

year he would give for the king of Portugal of the best that there was in his country, which was cinnamon and elephants, and that if he wished he would at once order the ships to be loaded with cinnamon, and with two elephants, and that in the bond he should say that as son of the viceroy he had concluded this peace with him, and that every year he would send him a ship-load of cinnamon and two elephants.[9] Diogo d'Almeida replied, that he also must give his bond for what he had said and promised, signed with his own hand, and by his prince and governors, "and the bond that you ask for," he added, "order it to be written on your *olas*, and the captain will sign them." This seemed good to the king, and he immediately had his bond drawn up on a strip of gold, of what he thus promised to give every year, and signed it with his prince and governors, and by one of these sent it to Dom Lourenço, who received it with many honours that he showed to the governor, who thereupon drew from a cloth a strip of silver which he gave to Dom Lourenço, who wrote thereon his bond of the peace that he was concluding with him, and because the ink would not adhere to the silver, it was written on paper pasted on the strip of silver, all written as Diogo d'Almeida had said, and Dom Lourenço signed it, and sealed it with the seal of the arms in ink. This deed the governor likewise wrote on his *olas*, which Dom Lourenço also signed; and he sent the king a piece of scarlet cloth, and another of black velvet, and to the governor he gave a piece of red satin, and six scarlet barret-caps. With which the king was greatly pleased, saying that Dom Lourenço had given him more than double the value of what he had to give him. Then the king sent him a present of provision for the whole armada, consisting of many fowls, and figs,[10] and coconuts which are eaten shell and all,[11] and sweet oranges, of which all the woods are full, and lemons, and other fruits, and sweet herbs, and the rest of the natural forest consists of cinnamon trees, which are low with slender stems: a very salubrious country, and abounding in big springs and very large streams of excellent water, and throughout the forests bees' nests with much honey, wild birds and beasts of every kind in the world, so much that they wander amongst the houses.[12] The island is about three hundred leagues in circumference,[13] and the whole is ruled by four kings,[14] but this one is the principal, because only in his kingdom does the cinnamon grow.

* * * * * * *

...... when Dom Lourenço came here, the price of cinnamon the *bar*, which is equal to four *quintals*, was one cruzado, whereas it is now worth eight or ten.[15]

* * * * * * *

But to return to my subject, I have to say that the Moors of Calecut, whose ships Dom Lourenço had captured, seeing that the evil things they had told of us availed them nothing, and that the king had already concluded peace with Dom Lourenço, seeking some means of getting back their ships, collected a great present, and brought it to the king and his governors, begging him not to

allow their ships to be taken from them in his port, which was a great derogation of his honour; to which the king replied that they had not considered his honour when they told him lies, and now they desired that his honour should be preserved in order that they might not have their ships taken from them, which had been captured by those whom they had called robbers, so bad, according to what they said, that he could not ask for what they certainly would not give. The Moors answered: "Sir, we speak ill of the Portuguese, because they act so towards us, but do thou, as a great king, have pity on us." The king, in order to see whether what had been done were good or bad, sent and asked Dom Lourenço to release the ships, as by so doing he would gratify him. Dom Lourenço sent him word, that the king of Calecut being false and bad murdered the Portuguese who were in his city buying and selling, in order to steal what they had; and with this message he sent Fernão Cotrim,[16] whom Dom Lourenço ordered to relate to the king all the evils that the king of Calecut had done, and that for this reason the king of Portugal had commanded that all merchants of Calecut, wherever they were found, should be burnt alive; and that on arriving at the port he had not ordered the ships to be burnt, because there were no Moors in them; but, as he had asked it, he gave him the ships, that he might use them as his own, and did not give them to the Moors, being still their enemy; and that he gave him the ships on condition that never again would he allow Moors of Calecut to enter his ports, because if he found them there he was bound to burn their ships. Then he ordered the ships to be taken back to the places where they had been anchored; for which the king sent him hearty thanks, saying that never again would he allow Moors of Calecut in his ports. Then Dom Lourenço, taking the cinnamon and the two elephants, prepared to depart, and sent word to the king, that he wished to leave behind at that port a memorial set up, in remembrance of the peace that had been agreed to. At which the king was much pleased, saying that he would be glad if he erected many memorials which would last for ever.

Then Dom Lourenço went on shore, and on a point of land which stood above the bay he erected a column of stone with the escutcheons of arms such as I have already described;[17] and when the marble had been raised and put in its place, Dom Lourenço, on his knees, offered a prayer to the cross that was on it, and then retired. Then he sent word to the king that the peace which they had concluded would last as long as that stone which he was leaving there, with the obligation that if anyone entered that port to do him harm he would at once come to defend and aid him. The king sent answer that he would be glad if he erected other stones in all his ports; but Dom Lourenço sent back word that this stone sufficed for all his ports, because this port was the principal one.

Near this port were certain great rocky places, where was a big den below a great cave, in which for a very long time had been living a reptile with two feet, a great tail, a short neck, a flat head,

with big mouth and teeth, and a black body, like large shells[18]; which in process of time had grown to a great size, and the people of the country said that is was more than two hundred years that it had lived there; and that it came out of its den to seek for food, and did much harm, insomuch that the king obliged the people to bring food to it to the entrance of the cave, so that it might not come out; wherefore they fed it with fish from the sea, which they went to catch for that purpose. This having been related to Dom Lourenço, he conceived a great desire to go and kill this reptile with his halberd,[19] and sent and begged the king earnestly to give him leave to do this. To this the king would not consent, saying that he did not wish him to venture his life over this, but that he would be very glad if he would send and have it killed. Wherefore Dom Lourenço thereupon ordered two falcons on carriages to be taken thither, and ordered a powder mine to be made at the place where it came to eat the fish, which was in the evening, and the falcons were pointed at the same place, and a very long train of powder was laid. Then he ordered a good watch to be kept, and on the reptile's coming out to eat they fired the falcons, which lit the mine, whereby the reptile was blown to pieces: to which the people could not come near, because of the great stench. I saw with my own eyes some bones of this reptile, which were shown to me in the year that the Rooms besieged the fortress of Dio.[20]

Dom Lourenço having completed all his preparations and taken leave of the king set sail and arrived at Cochym, when the ships were already loaded to sail, namely, the four that I have already mentioned,[21] and was received by his father with much pleasure, on learning the good news that he brought, giving many praises to Our Lord for directing him so as to discover so great a prize for our lord the king, without cost of money or trouble, as was the cinnamon for the kingdom, which was immediately loaded in the ships; and he ordered Diogo d'Almeida to go and tell the king of Cochym all about the Ceylão affair, because Dom Lourenço had been to see the king, and had told him nothing. And because the viceroy highly esteemed the speaking of the truth he did not care to write to the king anything that anyone had told him, when he did not know if they were telling him the truth, since, if he were told a lie, he did not wish to repeat a lie to the king; so, when any man came from another country he sent him to the king, that he might give him an account of what he had seen and learnt. For this cause he sent to the kingdom Diogo d'Almeida, that he might relate to the king the affairs of Ceylão, because, while Dom Lourenço was in Ceylão, he was the whole time on shore, and saw all that took place in Ceylão. And he gave these men whom he thus sent a letter of credit, which said, "Sire, this man went to such a country, and he will give your highness an account of what he saw and heard." The which he also gave to Diogo d'Almeida because he had to relate the deed of his son, which had happened in Ceylão: which he did not wish to write of to the king, it being a personal matter, and he considering it a breach of his honour if he should seem to glorify

himself, and saying that a man of good breeding should not relate his own actions, as he would thereby destroy their value.[22]

* * * * * * *

In these ships of this year the viceroy sent a very small elephant, one of those brought by Dom Lourenço, which was the first that ever went to Portugal.[23]

[1] See *supra*, p. 301.

[2] In the following paragraph Correa relates how, a second fleet having been placed under the command of Rodrigo Rabello for the purpose of cruising along the Malabar coast, Lourenço de Brito, the captain of Cananor, demanded that he should have command of one of the fleets. After a heated altercation, the viceroy justified his appointments to Lourenço de Brito's satisfaction, and the two parted good friends.

[3] The composition of the fleet and names of the captains must be regarded with great suspicion. Manuel Telles, at any rate, had sailed for Portugal in January (see *supra*, p. 295).

[4] Correa is the only historian who gives the date of Dom Lourenço's sailing, and it is incorrect, though not so very far out (see B 1).

[5] So the Portuguese reads; but, as it is stated immediately afterwards that the Maldives were not sighted, we must take Correa's meaning to be that the ships were tacking about endeavouring to make the islands.

[6] It will be seen that all through his account Cor. has many details wanting in Cast. and Bar. Unfortunately most of these must be considered inventions.

[7] The accusations were only too true, as Correa well knew.

[8] Cor. alone mentions this man. If he was not a creation of the writer's brain, he was probably related to the viceroy.

[9] Cor. alone mentions the two elephants. The king may have given these, as well as the cinnamon, but they formed no part of the original tribute, though later this included elephants (see C 26).

[10] Plantains, which the Portuguese designated "Indian figs" (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Plantain").

[11] Probably young coconuts (*kurumbas*) are meant.

[12] *Cf.* C 22.

[13] Varthema (A 18) says "1,000 miles," which is less than Correa's estimate, since the Portuguese league was about 4¼ Italian miles (see *First Voy. of V. da Gama* 245).

[14] *Cf.* A 18.

[15] See B 1, note [6].

[16] See B 8, B 9.

[17] See B 2, note [12].

[18] Whiteway (*Rise of Port. Power in India* 108 *n.*) thinks that this is "a distorted description of a crocodile."

[19] The halberd was Dom Lourenço's favourite weapon (see p. 293, n. §).

[20] Apparently Correa means that he saw the bones in Ceylon. If so, he was probably on board the *catur* which, he says, called at Ceylon in September 1538, on its way to Choromandel carrying the news of the coming of the Rooms (Turks) to besiege Diu (Cor. iii. 882, iv. 27).

[21] The reference is to i. 645–46, where, after recording the arrival in India from Moçambique, in August 1506, of Pedro Coresma (!) and Cide Barbudo (see p. 303), Correa continues: "The viceroy commanded to repair these ships, and careen them, because they were large and now of the past year, and if they remained in India would utterly perish; and he also commanded to repair the ship *Judia* (!), and the *Condona*, in which were to go Leonel de Castro and Dom Francisco da Cunha, as

we have said above [i. 609], who remained in the armada of the viceroy. ...... The viceroy gave great dispatch to these four ships with the object that these should load first, and that if there were not enough cargo for all, that then those should remain that came this year, which could not load; and he gave the captaincy of these two ships, one to Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, who wished to return to the kingdom, because of being out of favour with the viceroy, and the other he gave to Francisco da Silva." All which is terribly incorrect, as may be seen from what I have related above.

[22] There seems to be a certain amount of truth in what Correa says here. That the viceroy did send to Portugal, to recount to the king the "discovery" of Ceylon, some of the men who had taken part in it, we know from his own statement (see C 5). And that Dom Francisco was unwilling to write of his own doings we also know from the same letter, in which he writes to the king (Cor. i. 910): "Since your highness commands that of the things that I do I be the writer, a thing that to me always seemed ill in men of honour, I must do it, with the protestation that the error that may be in this is not through my fault." That he wrote to the king announcing his son's "discovery" of Ceylon is clear from the summary of his letter quoted in B 2; but how much he said on that subject we shall never know. The details given in the king's letter to the pope (B 3) and copied by Cast. (B 8) were probably furnished by the persons sent home by the viceroy.

[23] Cast. (B 8) does not say that this was the *first* elephant ever sent to Portugal. Correa's statement may or may not be true.

B 11.

The Discoveries of the World, by Antonio Galvão,[1] 104.

[1505 or 1506.]

At the end of this year [1505], or at the beginning of the next,[2] the viceroy sent his son Dom Lourenço to the islands of Maldiva, and through contrary weather he made landfall at the islands [*sic*] which the ancients called Tragana[3] and the Moors Itterubenero,[4] and we now call Ceilam, where he went ashore, and concluded peace with those of the country, and returned to Cochim along the coast, making himself acquainted with the whole of it.[5]

[1] Antonio Galvão, the so-called "apostle of the Moluccas," went to the East in 1527 and spent many years there. His book was first published in 1563, and a very faulty English translation was printed by Hakluyt in 1601. This and the original text were reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1862 (shockingly edited, and without an index).

[2] This is noteworthy, showing that at the time when Galvão wrote doubt existed as to the exact date of Dom Lourenço's visit.

[3] This name, which is found in Schott's map of Ptolemy, 1513, may represent the first part of "Trincomalee" (*cf.* A 10, note [3]).

[4] The *b* in this name should probably be *l*; and the whole seems to represent Tamil *tiru Îla-nâḍu*, "the sacred country of Ceylon" (*cf.* C 22, note [3]).

[5] I do not know what authority the writer has for this last statement (*cf.* B 9).

B 12.

Couto V. I. v.[1]

[1505 ?]

In the time of this king Boenegabo Pandar,[2] Dom Lourenço d'Almeida, son of the viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida, in the year of Our Lord 1505,[3] made landfall at this island, and sending on shore to get water and wood, they tried to prevent him ; wherefore he ordered to be fired from the galleons several bombard-shots, with which he so astonished them, that they betook themselves into the interior, these natives not being accustomed to hear that new noise amongst them,[4] because at that time there was not a single matchlock in the whole island[5] ;

. . . .

And, to return to our subject, as soon as this king knew of the Portuguese armada that was in his port, his fear was so great that he sent to propose peace with Dom Lourenço, and to offer vassalage, which was accepted of him, with a yearly tribute of four hundred *bares* of cinnamon, which is equal to twelve hundred *quintals*.[6]

[1] In this chapter Couto gives a sketch of the history of Ceylon, with a summary account of the reigns of the kings from 1400 to 1537, the details of which, he says, he got from manuscripts that he found in the possession of Siṇhalese princes at Goa. The chapter is interesting, as containing the earliest printed account of Ceylon history ; but there are many errors.

[2] The details given by Couto in the paragraph preceding this show that Vijaya Báhu is meant.

[3] It is curious that Couto antedates by a year both the first landing of the Portuguese in Ceylon and the erection by them of the first fortress at Columbo (see *infra*, C 20).

[4] *Cf.* the (alleged) report of the natives to the king as recorded in the *Rájávaliya* (*infra*, B 15).

[5] *Cf.* Varthema's statement in the extract given above (A 18).

[6] See B 1, note [5].

— —·—

B 13.

Specimens of Sinhalese Proverbs, by L. de Zoysa, Mudaliyár.

(Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1870-71, 139.)

[1506 ?]

පරංගියා කෝට්ටේ ගියා වගේ, "Like the Portuguese going to Kóṭṭé." Applied to a long and circuitous path. It is said that shortly after the Portuguese had landed at Colombo they were conducted to Kóṭṭé, then the capital of the kings of Ceylon, by a long and circuitous road, through Pánadurė and Rayigam

Kóralé, with a view to conceal from the new-comers the close proximity of the capital from the sea-port of Colombo, which was then the head-quarters of the Portuguese.[1]

[1] This last clause should, I think, be deleted ; for I feel convinced that the proverb had its rise in the manner in which the envoys of D. Lourenço de Almeida were conducted to the royal court, as described by Barros (see *supra*, B 9).

B 14.

Valentyn's " *Ceylon* " 75.[1]

[1530 ?] [1506.]

About this time, in the lifetime of this emperor[2] of Cotta, there set out a ship from Portugal[3] which arrived safely in the bay of Colombo; and this was the second that came here,[4] about the year 1530.[5]

As soon as the emperor Darma Praccaram Bahu heard thereof, he ordered (so this history says) the 4 kings, his brothers,[6] to be summoned to him, and took counsel with them as to whether these strangers should be allowed to enter that country, whereupon the king of Oedoegampala[7] said that he would like first to go and see these people himself. This he did, thought very well of them,[8] and advised the emperor to make a treaty with them. Thereupon the Portuguese went with presents to Cotta, where they were very well received by that prince, who made a treaty with them to their entire satisfaction, after which they departed from there.[9]

[1] Valentyn seems to have obtained possession of a Portuguese translation of the *Rájávaliya* differing in many details from the versions now extant in Ceylon. His chronology, however, is, from various causes, very erroneous, as he himself recognized, though he was unable to rectify it.

[2] " Derma Praccaram Bahu " (Dharma Parákrama Báhu).

[3] The version below (B 15) gives the place of departure more exactly.

[4] These words are an evident interpolation of Valentyn's : see note[9] below.

[5] See *infra*, B 15, note [2].

[6] On a previous page Valentyn tells us that these were : Taniam Vallaba, king of Candoepiti Madampe ; Siri Raja Singa, king of Manicaravare ; the king of Reygamme (unnamed) ; and Saccalacala Valaba Raja, king of Oedoegampala (*cf*. Bell's *Rep. on Kég. Dist*. 5).

[7] According to the version below (B 15) it was " prince Chakrayuddha " who made the offer.

[8] I rather suspect Valentyn's rendering or his Portuguese version of the original statement here (*cf*. B 15 below).

[9] To this Valentyn appends the remark : " So the Cingaleeze relate of this emperor, but, as we record below in connection with the arrival of the Portuguese, it took place in the time of the preceding

emperor." The reference is to p. 91, where Valentyn gives the Portuguese version of the visit of D. Lourenço de Almeida, and adds that the emperor then reigning was, according to his list, " Rucculey Praccaram Bahu Raja " (Irukula Parákrama Báhu Rája), in whose 52nd year, he says, on p. 74, the event took place. As a matter of fact, Şrí Parákrama Báhu, the sovereign he names, had been dead half a century when the Portuguese " discovered " Ceylon.

B 15.

Rájávaliya 73.[1]

[1522 ?] . [1506.]

At that time, in the year 1522 of our Lord Jesus Christ,[2] there came a ship to the harbour of Colombo from the Portuguese settlement in Jambudvípa,[3] having, by the power of God, escaped the perils of the deep. The men who saw it while lying in the harbour came and thus reported[4] to king Parákrama Báhu : " There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets of iron and hats of iron ; they rest not a minute in one place ; they walk here and there ;" and with reference to their use of bread, raisins, and arrack,[5] the informants said, " They eat hunks of stone and drink blood ; they give two or three pieces of gold and silver for one fish or one lime ; the report of their cannon is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock Yugandhara. Their cannon balls fly many a *gawwa* and shatter fortresses of granite." These and other countless details were brought to the hearing of the king.

On learning this news, the king Dharma Parákrama Báhu summoned his four brothers[6] to the city, and having informed them and other leading persons and wise ministers, inquired, " Shall we live on friendly terms with them, or shall we fight ?" Thereupon prince Chakrayuddha[7] said : " I will myself go, and after seeing with my own eyes what manner of men they be, advise one of the two courses." Having so said, he disguised himself and went to Colombo harbour, watched the actions of the Portuguese, and having formed his opinion, returned to the city and addressed the king: " To fight with these men is useless ; it will be well to give them audience." The king accordingly gave audience to one or two of the Portuguese, made them presents, and in return received presents and curiosities from them ; and likewise, sending many tokens of respect to the great king of Portugal, lived on very friendly terms with him. Let it be noted, that from that day the Portuguese gained a footing in Colombo.

[1] This passage is extracted from the translation by B. Guṇasékara (1900). Though the date of its composition and its authorship are unknown, it was probably written in the seventeenth century. In spite of its erroneous chronology it is a work of much historical value, especially as regards the period of Portuguese occupation in Ceylon.

[1] According to Guṇasékara, some of the manuscripts give no date for this event. The mode of expression in a professedly Buddhist work, as well as the fact that the date is absurdly incorrect, would lead one to suspect a later interpolation. It is curious that in Valentyn's version an even later date, 1530, is given. I cannot explain how either date has been arrived at.

[2] A curiously vague expression: the writer, apparently, did not know where the "Portuguese settlement" was.

[4] It will be noticed that Valentyn's version gives nothing of this professed report, which certainly reads rather suspiciously, like the speeches that Correa invents for the occasion (see *supra*, B 10).

[5] So Guṇasékara's translation reads: but I think the words *muddirappalam arakku* should be rendered "grape arrack," *i.e.*, wine.

[6] The four were apparently Vijaya Báhu, Rayigam Baṇḍára, Sakalakalá Valla of Udugampola, and Taniya Valla of Mádampé.

[7] Valentyn's version (B 14) has "the king of Oedoegampala." It is probable that "Chakrayuddha" was a title borne by Sakalakalá Valla.

B 16.

Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai[1] 33, 48.

[1506.]

They [the *Parangkis*] first came to *Langka* in the year *Parithapi* corresponding with the *Saka* year 1428,[2] in the reign of king *Parak-kirama-vaku*[3] of *Kotta*, and having obtained his permission they commenced to trade in his territories, ...

* * * * * * *

The *Parangkis* commenced to visit Ceylon in the reign of king *Parakkirama-vaku* of *Kotta*, who in the *Saka* year 1428 gave them permission to trade with his subjects. ....

[1] The extracts are taken from Brito's translation (1879). This history of Jaffna, though written only as late as 1736, is of some value as embodying early traditions.

[2] That is, 1506.

[3] Parákrama Báhu.

C 1.

Correa i. 718.

[September (?) 1507.]

...... The viceroy when he left [Cochin] for Cananor sent to Ceylão Diogo de Crasto and Pero Barba in two ships to get the tribute cinnamôn.[1] And because the king of Ceylão had not got an exact copy of what he was to give each year, he gave an order to these captains that they were to take by weight the cinnamon that the king gave them of his own free will, and whatever was deficient, of the two thousand quintals that they had to bring, they should buy it of him[2] and pay for it with gold portuguezes, which they carried with them for that purpose, five *bares*, equal to twenty quintals,[3] being given for a gold portuguez[4]; and he sent the king his letter, and a piece of crimson velvet, and a large jar full of *amfião*,[5] and rosewater, and other things of the prizes got in the ships from the strait.

[1] Cor. alone records this mission: his statements, therefore, I can neither confirm nor controvert.
[2] *Cf.* C 4.
[3] *Cf.* B 1, note [6].
[4] The gold portuguez was equal to four thousand reis, the real at that time being equal to about ·2297*d.* (see Theal's *Beg. of S. A. History* 181).
[5] That is, opium (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Opium").

C 2.

Instructions given to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.[1]

[13 February 1508.]

* * * * * * *

...... And hence from the said islands[2] if you should make them, or from the country of Ssam Lourenço if you cannot reach them, you shall take your course with the help of Our Lord direct to the point of the island of Çeillam[3]; and, when you shall take your course for Çeillam, you shall endeavour to take your course by the island of Camdaluz[4] or by Maldiva[5] which we shall be glad to have discovered, and we also believe that you will there find pilots for every part, having such care however in this voyage that you find yourself rather inside of the point of the said island of Çeillam than outside, because this we consider safer navigation; ...... and noting down very exactly all the islands that you shall find and how far they are one from the other, and also how much it is from the first land that you shall leave in quest of Çeillam

to the first of the said island of Çeillam where you shall make landfall, and you shall also cause to be written down the altitudes of all the countries and islands to which you shall come.

* * * * * * *

Item: When you shall come to Çeillam,[6] if it please God, you shall find out if any of our people are there or fortress or ships, for we believe that you will there find tidings of our people and fleets. And after you have found out all about this and have informed yourself very thoroughly of the affairs of this island of Çeillam, as you have above been ordered to do in the case of other countries that you may discover, you shall then leave there and take your course in quest of Mallaca, endeavouring to obtain pilots there in Ceyllam[7] ...... And if there in Quejllam[8] you find the viceroy, and he shall require you for the defence of any fortress and of our people who may be in extreme need, and that by your help matters should be remedied, in that case you shall do only what he shall require of and command you in our name, and by this we command our said viceroy or captain-major of the territories of Jmdia[9] that in no other matter do they occupy you or detain you, except in the above, because we think it well to send you thus to discover.

[1] These were first printed in *Annaes Maritimas e Coloniaes*, 3 ser. (1843), pte. não off. 479–92. They are also printed in *Alguns Documentos* 184–97, and in *Cartas de Aff. de Albuquerque* ii. 403–19. I translate from the text in the former, and note below any variations in the text of the latter.

[2] Any islands near Sam Lourenço (Madagascar) that he should hear of.

[3] "Ceillam" in *Cartas*.

[4] "Cand aluz" in *Cartas*. It is Kinaḷos in Maḷosmaḍulu Atol. In documents and maps of the 16th century "Camdicall" (see *supra*, B 2) and "Camdaluz" are associated as being two of the best known islands of the Maldive archipelago.

[5] "Maldiva" here means the island of Malé (see *supra*, B 2).

[6] *Cartas* has "Collam."

[7] "Ceillam" in *Cartas*.

[8] "Queillam" in *Cartas*.

[9] "Imdia" in *Cartas*.

C 3.

Barros II. III. i.

[September–October (?) 1508.]

...... While thus giving final orders in the matters of this fleet against the Rooms[1] and the cargo of spicery for the ships that had to come that year to this kingdom, as cinnamon was wanting for them, he [the viceroy] sent Nuno Vaz Pereira[2] in the ship *Sancto Spirito*[3] to the island of Ceilam to bring it, who had come from Sofala in the ships of the armada of Jorge de Mello, handing over the fortress to Vasco Gomez Dabreu, as mentioned

above.[4] By which journey he got nothing, only there came with him Garcia de Sousa, who had been there since the expedition he made when he went to supply the ship of Ruy Soarez:[5] and the cause of his not bringing cinnamon was that the king of the country was very ill,[6] and the Moors had incited the heathen to hatred of us.[7] And though Nuno Vaz might have done them harm, he bore an order from the viceroy that he should not levy war by reason of the peace that his son Dom Lourenço had agreed to, the witness of which was the *padram* that he left standing in the town[8] of Columbo,[9] which Nuno Vaz saw.[10]

[1] The "Rooms" are Turks (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v.), and the fleet referred to was that intended to avenge the death of D. Lourenço de Almeida in his engagement with the Diu and Egyptian fleets off Chaul in January 1508.

[2] See *supra*, B 2, B 9.

[3] See *supra*, B 2.

[4] In liv. I. cap. ii. of this Decade.

[5] As related a few pages before. In May 1508 the *commendador* Ruy Soares had arrived from Portugal off Cape Comorin with his ship in a very unseaworthy condition; and the viceroy on learning this sent Garcia de Sousa in a caravel with anchors, cables, &c., to safeguard the ship, which lay exposed to the full force of the south-west monsoon. By "there" I think Barros means only "in that part" (*i.e.*, in the south), for I cannot find that Garcia de Sousa went to Ceylon.

[6] This statement is significant, in view of the fact that it was in this year that Dharma Parákrama Báhu began his reign (see Bell's *Rep. on Kégalla Dist.* 86).

[7] *Cf. infra*, C 4.

[8] Port. *lugar*, lit. "place." It was applied to an unfortified town or village, in contradistinction to *cidade*.

[9] *Cf.* B 9, *supra*, where Barros states that Galle was the place where Dom Lourenço erected the *padrão*.

[10] *Cf. infra*, C 5.

C 4.

Castanheda ii. 301.

[November 1508.]

...... And whilst the ships that had to go to Portugal were loading there arrived Nuno Vaz Pereyra in the ship *Santo Sprito*, who had been to the island of Ceilão to seek the tribute[1] which Dom Lourenço Dalmeida had agreed with the king of that island that he was to pay to the king of Portugal: and he found no tribute, nor was he able to make a purchase,[2] which the king was opposed to, through the instigation of some Moors of Calicut who were there.

[1] *Cf. supra*, C 3. [2] *Cf. supra*, C 1.

C 5.

Letter of D. Francisco de Almeida to King Manuel.[1]

[? September–December[2] 1508.]

Those still able to put to sea[3] are ...... ; and Nuno Vaz Pereira, whom I sent to Ceylão,[4] and Diogo de Faria, who will return in October,[5] if it please Our Lord, before the fleet leaves here.

* * * * * * *

The seed-pearls and pearls that you command me to send you I cannot get, as they are in Ceylão and Caille, which are the sources of them:[6] I should have to purchase them with my blood, and with my money, which I possess because you have given it to me.

* * * * * * *

Regarding Ceylão I have already informed your highness through men that went there,[7] and these who have now come from there[8] found the country quiet,[9] and the *padrão* standing as my son placed it.[10] I have said to your highness that a fortress would be good there,[11] because all the vessels that come from the south, that is, from all parts of Malaca, Çamatra, Pedir, Bengala, Pegú, cannot reach the northern region without passing close to this island of Ceylão, but to navigate with certainty are obliged to come in sight of it, and half-a-dozen ships could stop this route to them; and the fortress could be made without danger on a point that overlooks the port, as at Cananor, in which is a well of excellent water. May it please God to direct us to do this to the increase of your service.[12]

[1] This important document, the original of which does not seem to be extant, was printed in 1858 in the *Annaes das Sciencias e Lettras* ii. from an 18th century copy in the possession of the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. Fortunately, Gaspar Correa, when compiling his *Lendas*, embodied therein an early copy of the letter, which is printed in tom. i. pp. 897–923. It is from this that I translate the following passages.

[2] The letter bears internal evidence of having been written at various times; for near the beginning 20 November is mentioned as the date of its writing, while towards the end we find "Today, fifth of December" (see below, note [5]). Some of Albuquerque's letters also were written *de die in diem*.

[3] The viceroy is informing the king of what ships had been broken up, and what were still serviceable.

[4] See *supra*, C 3, C 4.

[5] This shows that the viceroy must have begun writing the letter in September.

[6] *Cf. infra*, C 18.

[7] *Cf. supra*, B 10, note [22].

[8] Nuno Vaz Pereira and Diogo de Faria. This paragraph must have been added in November (*cf. supra*, C 4).

[9] The viceroy says nothing of the ill-success of the mission and the causes thereof, as chronicled by Barros and Castanheda (*supra*, C 3, C 4).

[10] *Cf. supra*, C 3.

[11] See *supra*, B 2.

[12] *Cf. supra*, A 21.

C 6.

Correa ii. 42.

[December (?) 1509.]

And all having thus been done, and the ships having been repaired as much as was needed, having been dispatched by the king [of Pedir in Sumatra] in good peace, he [Diogo Lopes de Sequeira] set sail, and with fair weather made landfall at the island of Ceilão in the port of Columbo,[1] where he learnt that a short time previously there had left there the ships that took the cinnamon[2] for the cargo of the marshal,[3] and that the viceroy had left for the kingdom,[4] and Afonso d'Alboquerque governed, with whom he continued on bad terms, through taking the part of the viceroy in their disputes.[5] Fearing that on this account Afonso d'Alboquerque would give him a bad dispatch and cause him various annoyances, in great haste he discharged the ship of Jeronymo Teixeira, which was a better sailer than his, and careened her and repaired her very thoroughly in every part that required it, and loaded her with all that he had brought, which was worth a great deal, and embarked in her and gave his ship to Jeronymo Teixeira, that he should go with the other ships to the governor, but he was unwilling to do so, and went with him to the kingdom;[6] ...... And the ships having been fitted out, he set sail with them from Ceylão, and came to Coulão, whence he set his course for Portugal ......

[1] Both Castanheda and Barros say that the first landfall made by Diogo Lopes after leaving Sumatra was at Travancor, which they describe as a port near Cape Comorin. According to the *Com. of Af. Dalb* (ii. 74), however, the port was Caecoulão (Káyankulam, a little to the north of Quilon); while Correa, it will be seen, states that from Ceylon Diogo Lopes went to Quilon, and thence to Portugal.

[2] I have no means of substantiating or controverting this statement. We have seen above (C 3 and C 4) that in the previous year no cinnamon was obtainable from Ceylon, and the case may have been the same this year, Correa being quite capable of inventing " facts " on occasion.

[3] D. Fernando Coutinho, marshal of Portugal, who had been sent out by the king to compel D. Francisco de Almeida to hand over the chief authority to Affonso de Albuquerque, whom the viceroy had imprisoned. The marshal lost his life in the attack on Calecut in January 1510. Regarding the cargo of his ships see *Com. of Af. Dalb.* ii. 49, 53 (*cf.* C 7, note [2], below).

[4] He sailed from Cananor on 1 December 1509, and just three months later was killed by Hottentots in the Aguada de Saldanha (Table Bay).

[5] See *Com. of Af. Dalb.* ii.

[6] This is not borne out by the statements of other writers. In fact Castanheda ii. cap. vii. tells us that in February 1510 Albuquerque " having set sail from Cananor learnt at Mount Deli that Francisco de Sousa, Jeronimo Teixeira, Jorge da Cunha, and Luis Coutinho intended to desert him and go off, induced by Jeronimo Teixeyra that they should all go with an armada beyond Ceylão, because there they would load prizes, as he knew from the time when he went to Malaca with Diogo Lopez de Sequeyra, and that from there without returning to India they should go to Portugal, as did Diogo Lopez."

C 7.

Summary of Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel.[1]

[4 November 1510.]

* * * * * * *

Cochy, in his opinion, should be the principal staple and factory for the whole of India, on account of its being in the centre of everything and the port of shipment for all the factories, which you must needs have in India in order to obtain profit.

And that all the others should be assisted from there.

And that the loading of your ships must never be done except in Cochy, because the pepper supplies the loading of the ships;[2] all the rest of the other goods is superfluity.[3]

* * * * * * *

It is very near to Bengalla, and has Ceilão very close at hand.

* * * * * * *

And the ships can go to Ceylão in August and September, and return in November and December, when, he says, our ships are loading.

And that with this port of shipment and arrangement your highness can have in Cochy all the riches of India.[4]

* * * * * * *

He gives in the last paragraph of this letter an estimate of the spicery that went out of India that year, and from what places, and by what means he ascertained this.[5]

[1] This summary of a letter that has disappeared is printed in *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* i. 423–27.

[2] According to the *Com. of Af. Dalb.* ii. 49, in November 1509 D. Fernando Coutinho asked the king of Cananor "to command his officers to get ready fifteen thousand *quintals* of pepper which were required for loading the cargoes of the ships, for the viceroy had told him that he would load them all with pepper for them if he pleased." The king, however, was not able to satisfy the marshal's desire. How largely pepper bulked in the cargoes of the homeward-bound Portuguese ships in the early part of the 16th century may be judged from the figures given by Leonardo Ca' Masser (*op. cit. supra*, A 23). Towards the end of the century the spice still formed the most important item in the cargoes (see Linschoten, Hak. Soc. ed., i. 41, ii. 220–25).

[3] In original *sobernal*, to which the editor affixes a mark of interrogation. The word appears to be not Portuguese but Spanish. Capt. John Stevens in his Span.-Eng. Dict. (2nd ed.) has: "*Sobornál*, the overplus in measure; also what is laid on a beast over and above its due burden; *Quasi sobre al*, above the rest."

[4] D. Francisco de Almeida, in writing to the king two years earlier, had said (Cor. i. 906): "Any other place of loading apart from here is unnecessary, because in Cochym there is pepper so that never will there come ships from Portugal that will finish carrying it away, and the other spiceries and rich drugs would come to this coast and here to Cochym, but they dare not through the inducement of the Moors who put them in fear."

[5] It is tantalizing to have this fact mentioned by the summarist, and not to have the estimate itself.

C 8.

Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque iii. cap. xxx.[1]

[January (?) 1512.]

...... And the ship *Trindade* making her way direct to Ceilam, in that crossing, as there were many people on board,[2] they would all have perished for want of water and food if Our Lord had not succoured them by means of two large Moorish ships that they encountered on the voyage, bound from Çamatora and laden with pepper and silk, sandalwood, and lignaloes. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque caught sight of them he gave orders to bear down on them, and took them, and out of them he furnished himself with provisions and water, which carried them to Ceilam[3] ......

[1] I translate from the first edition (1557). In the second edition (1576) there are slight alterations in this passage, but the sense is the same.

[2] For the foregoing words "And ...... board," the 1576 ed. substitutes "In that crossing over to Ceilão."

[3] None of the other authorities states that after the foundering of the *Flor de la mar* Affonso de Albuquerque, on leaving Sumatra for India, called at Ceylon. Giovanni da Empoli (who accompanied Albuquerque), Castanheda, Barros, and Correa, all say that Albuquerque made his first landfall at Cochin; and as the son, in these *Commentaries*, does not state that his father actually landed in Ceylon. I imagine the above to mean simply that the island was sighted and doubled.

C 9.

Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel.[1]

[September (?)[2] 1512.]

...... through this same weather[3] there was driven to land a ship of Adem, which had loaded cinnamon in Çeilam, and put in to Batecalla[4] and there discharged; I think that I shall have all, and that it will not get past by any means.

* * * * * * *

...... but, sire, when it is winter here, it is summer on the coast of Choromandell,[5] and if there are westerly winds there, they are along the coast, because the coast of Choromandell runs north and south, and the westerly winds of India are for the most part west-south-westers, the which westerly winds come overland, and also the island of Çejlam and the [Maldive] islands, all of which makes a shelter to the coast of Choromandell; the easterly winds of the coast are always fair winds, and at the time of the easterly winds northerly winds blow along the coast of Choromandell.

* * * * * * *

...... they[6] asked me for a share of the prizes for their ships; I replied that they were not making a just request, because they were prohibited by your instructions from making captures or prizes beyond Çeilam,[7]......

[1] This very lengthy letter is printed in *Cartas de Aff. de Alb.* i. 29–65, and in *Alg. Doc.* 232–61.

[2] The date of the letter is given in words as "the first day of April" 1512; but internal evidence proves that this cannot possibly be right, for in one paragraph Albuquerque speaks of an event that happened "at the beginning of August," and in others refers to the arrival of ships from Portugal, which, according to Barros and Correa, reached Cochin in August or September. It is probable that, as in the case of the letter by Almeida extracted from above (C 5), the writing of this document extended over several months.

[3] The paragraph speaks of a storm that occurred in the Indian Ocean while Albuquerque was absent in Malacca in 1511, whereby many native vessels laden with spices, &c., were lost or driven to land (see *Com. of Af. Dalb.* iii. 203).

[4] See *supra*, p. 305, note §.

[5] *Cf.* B 2.

[6] The captains of the ships that Albuquerque took to Malacca in 1511.

[7] *Cf. supra*, C 6, note [6].

C 10.

Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel.[1]

[8 November 1512.]

Your highness need not fear Calecut, the business of which is already nil; the gulf beyond Ceilam is what did you all harm and damage there,[2] because there went continuously every year to Meqa fifty ships laden with everything that can be mentioned from Malaca and those parts; now, thanks to Our Lord, you have cut off that route from them.[3]

[1] Printed in *Cartas* i. 98–100.

[2] In the Red Sea.

[3] Albuquerque means by the possession of Malacca, which he had captured the previous year.

C 11.

Summary of a Letter from Buquer Acem.[1]

[? 1512.]

Another letter, from Buquer Acem, very rhetorical;[2] and he alleges fourteen years' services; and begs for another similar letter of commendation, and that your highness command it to be written for him after such a fashion that friends and enemies may say: "Buquer Alacem is a servant of the great king's and

the great king holds him for such." And he says that he, by his letters and words, opened up the way from Malabar, until he caused you to be obeyed from Cambaya and Coulam and Dabull and Ceilam.

[1] Printed in *Cartas* iii. 336–37. The writer is referred to in *Com. of Af. Dalb.* ii. 226 as "a Moor of Cananor, named Porcassem" (spelt "Pocaracem" at 241), which name the editor explains as "for *Abu'l-Casim*, softened into *Bul-Kasim*." This seems improbable: I think it likely that the man's name was Abû Bakr 'Alî Hasan. He figures in Albuquerque's time as an interpreter and go-between; and Bar. (II. vii. vi.) calls him and another Moor "great friends of ours." At the end of 1544 or beginning of 1545, when he was governor of Cananor, he was treacherously murdered by command of Martim Affonso de Sousa, governor of India (see Couto V. x. viii., Cor. iv. 425–27, D. Lopes's *Hist. dos Port. no Malabar* 65, Whiteway's *Rise of Port. Power in India* 288–89).

[2] "De grande oratorya." The statement in the last sentence is a characteristic piece of bombast.

C 12.

Letter from Antonio Real to King Manuel.[1]

[15 December 1512.]

* * * * * * *

Sire,—I have already on a former occasion written to your highness that you should always keep well-fitted ships on this coast, to wit: that they may go to the islands[2] and Çeilam, when it is the season, which will thereby be of much service and profit to you, since everything is near at hand to Cochim; for from the islands comes much coir, which is very necessary,[3] and ambergris and silk cloths and other wares, and from Ceilão much cinnamon, rubies, sapphires, elephants, which is the chief trade there is here; and this is more necessary to you than the trash of Goa and Mallaca, and this brings profit, and the others, loss and death of men. And the cinnamon that goes there, the Moors bring hither what they want; and the good they sell where it seems good to them. On this account I advise you, sire, to send regularly to this fortress ships intended for this, so that the captain-major cannot take them to any other part, and that they may also engage in the Cambaya trade, which is much to your service, with your goods.

[1] This is printed in *Cartas* iii. 337–55. It is written from Cochin, where the writer was chief *alcaide*. He was an enemy of Albuquerque's, and makes various accusations against the latter in this letter.

[2] Maldives.

[3] *Cf.* B 9.

C 13.

Correa ii. 364.

[September 1513.]

...... and there also came on to the parade ground[1] to be exhibited four-and-twenty elephants, which were in the city for working, some of which had been captured in Goa, and others came as prizes from ships that had been carrying them from Ceylão to sell in Cambaya as a great commodity ......

[1] In front of the palace of the Sabayo in Goa, where Albuquerque was lodging.

C 14.

Oration of Camillo Portio to Pope Leo the Tenth.[1]

[October 1513.]

...... He [Affonso de Albuquerque] gained the kingdom of Ormuz, the kingdom of Goa, the kingdom and island of Ceilão.[2]

[1] This forms the bulk of cap. xxxix. of pt. iii. of the *Com. of Af. Dalb.*, ed. of 1576 (it is not in the ed. of 1557). For details regarding the orator and the occasion of the deliverance of the oration see the notes to the Hak. Soc. ed. of the *Com.* iii. 169–72.

[2] The orator credits Albuquerque with more than he deserved.

C 15.

Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel.[1]

[30 November 1513.]

...... the king of Ceilam is dead;[2] he had two sons,[3] and there is a division between them over the succession to the throne; they told me that one of them sent to Cochim to ask them to give him help, and saying that if they wanted a fortress he would give them a site for it.[4]

[1] Printed in *Cartas* i. 135–39, and in *Alg. Doc.* 295–98.

[2] I cannot explain this statement, which can refer neither to Vijaya Báhu nor to Dharma Parákrama Báhu. Perhaps Ṣrí Rája Sinha of Meṇikkaḍavara is meant (see *Ráj.* 74).

[3] According to the *Ráj.* 74, Ṣrí Rája Sinha and Vijaya Báhu had by their common wife three sons; according to Bell (*Kęg. Rep.* 5, 15), four.

[4] I can find no confirmation of this, none of the historians referring to it.

C 16.

Letter of Affonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel.[1]

[30 November 1513.]

......it seems to me, sire, that you ought not to have so much responsibility in India, but if anyone open his port to your trade and goods, you should not hesitate to receive him with security for your people and merchandize, and thus you would go on gaining credit and fame in the country, and India would go on becoming settled, at least from Cambaya to Ceilam, where your ships have to do their loading: ......

......how will such persons as these[2] send ships with goods to Urmuz and others to Pegu, and others to Bemgala, and others to Zeila, to Barbora and Zeila,[3] and others to Malaca and Çamatara, and others to Tanaçarym, and others to Sarnao, and others to Ceylam, to bring all the various kinds of goods to your factories for the loading of your ships, since they have not chosen to put into operation two such little things as I have mentioned above ?......

[1] Printed in *Cartas* i. 151–55.

[2] The factors of Cochin, of whose negligence Albuquerque is complaining.

[3] This repetition of Zeila is probably a copyist's error.

C 17.

Letter from Lourenço Moreno to King Manuel.[1]

[30 November 1513.]

* * * * * * *

Item—In the ships of the past year there went a good proportion of cinnamon, and there is now going likewise in these ; and so I hope in God there will go every year ; and, regarding this, let your highness be easy, as I have more fear of your sending word to me not to send so much than of being lacking, as your highness did regarding ginger, of which you ordered me not to send you, each year, more than two thousand quintals.

* * * * * * *

Cherme[2] Marcar and his brothers, and Mamale Marcar and his brothers, are leading merchants of Cochim, and chiefly Cherme[2] Marcar, who is head of them ; and these are the brokers for furnishing cargo to the ships, and they bring all the cinnamon from Ceylam and other merchandize and drugs, and also cloves and mace, before Malaca was made,—of which nothing now comes from there,—and they receive here many wrongs, which I cannot make good to them ......

[1] Printed in *Cartas* iii. 380–406. The writer, one of the officials at the Cochin factory, was, like Antonio Real (see C 12), an enemy of Albuquerque's.

[2] Read "Cherine." These two merchants are frequently mentioned in the *Cartas* and in Barros, &c. (*cf. supra*, A 6).

C 18.

Letter sent by Giovanni da Empoli to his father Lionardo regarding the Malacca Voyage.[1]

[August–September (?) 1514.]

We left Cuccin for the said voyage[2] with nineteen sail, ... and setting out in not very favourable weather, it being late, we tacked hither and thither, until we doubled the island of Zolore,[3] where commences the gulf towards Malacca; which is three hundred and fifty leagues ......

...... In the country of India called Melibar, the province that commences at Goa and extends as far as Cape Comedis,[4] grow pepper and ginger; the prices of which you have already learnt. Passing beyond Cape Comedi, they are heathen; and between this and Gael[5] is where the pearls are fished; and near there is the body of Saint Thomas the apostle. Passing forward between the land and the sea is the island of Zolan, where are produced the cinnamon, sapphires, and oriental rubies in great abundance: a most beautiful country, well populated and situated ......

[1] Printed in *Archivio Storico Italiano, App.* tom. iii. 35–84. The writer, a Florentine factor in the Portuguese service, went to India with Albuquerque in 1503 and made many voyages. He died in Canton in October 1517 (see my *Letters from Port. Captives* 12).

[2] To Malacca in 1511.

[3] This name has greatly puzzled the editor of the letter in the *Archivio*, who appends a footnote making various suggestions as to its meaning. Undoubtedly Ceylon is intended, " Zolore " being, like " Zolan " in the next paragraph, probably an error for " Zelan."

[4] Comorin.

[5] Cael or Káyal (see *supra*, A 16, note [3]).

C 19.

Correa ii. 393.

[September (?) 1514.]

...... and he [Heytor Rodrigues] managed to get bases and falcons, and two *camellos*,[1] and powder and balls, from an old foist that came on shore there near the port [of Coulão], which, it was given out, was crossing over to Ceylão, and craftily went ashore and was wrecked, having left Cochym with orders to do this.[2]

[1] All the foregoing are varieties of cannon.

[2] So as to build and mount a fortress at Coulam (see B 2, note [8]).

C 20.

Letter of Andrea Corsali to Juliano de Medici.[1]

[6 January 1515.]

...... Near to Curumandel, anciently called Messoli, is another country called Paliacatti, also anciently known as Salaceni: where is found a great quantity of gems of every sort, which come partly from Pegu where are produced the rubies, and partly from an island that lies over against the Cape of Commeri which is called Seilon,[2] in the latitude on the south side of six degrees and on the north towards the Gangetic Gulf of eight degrees. Here is produced the greater quantity and more kinds of gems than in all the rest of India, such as perfect sapphires, rubies, spinels, balasses, topazes, jacinths, chrysolites, catseyes which are held in great estimation by the Moors, and garnets. They say that the king of this island has two rubies of such a colour and so lustrous that they are like a flame of fire, and though they call them by another name, I reckon them to be carbuncles[3]; and this sort are rarely found. Here also is gathered the cinnamon, which is carried by ship to every part. It has a great quantity of elephants, which are sold to divers merchants of India when they are small in order to be domesticated; and they are accustomed to sell them at so much the span, the price increasing with every span according to the size of the elephant. This island was not located by Ptolemy, whom I find deficient in many particulars ...... He placed Traprobana wrongly, as can be judged by Y. H. from the sailing chart that Don Michele[4] the king's orator[5] brought to Rome. ...... In India at present there are four thousand Portuguese men, and within a month nine thousand are leaving Ormuz first for the strait of the Red Sea,[6] in order that the ships may not be able to go to Murca[7]; then they are going south to the islands that are twelve thousand in number[8] to capture all the ships that sail without a pass; and then to the island of Sala[9] and to Curummandel.[10]

[1] This letter was written from "Concain terra de India," the writer (a Florentine) being there in the Portuguese service; and was printed in Florence in 1516. Ramusio reprinted it, with numerous alterations, in the first volume of his *Navigationi* (1550).

[2] "Zeilan" in Ram.

[3] *Cf.* Castanheda's statement in note [11] to C 22. The earliest editions of Spilbergen's voyage contain a plate showing (natural size) "the great carbuncle or ruby brought by the General Spilbergen from Celon" (in 1602),—a gift from the king of Kandy, apparently. It was probably a spinel ruby.

[4] Ram. inserts "di Selva."

[5] That is, ambassador (see B 6, note [3]). Dom Miguel da Silva went to Rome as ambassador for Portugal in August 1514, and continued to hold that office until July 1525, when he returned to Portugal, the king conferring upon him the bishopric of Vizeu (see *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* i. 267, ii. 242-46, 264). The "sailing chart" referred to by Corsali may be the tracing sent by Albuquerque to King Manuel, taken from a large Javanese chart which was lost in the *Flor de la mar* (see *Cartas* i. 64, *Port. Capt. in Canton* 3 *n.*).

[6] This refers to Albuquerque's projected expedition, which was frustrated by his illness and death (see *Com. of Af. Dalb.* iv. 130 *et seq.*).

[7] Ram. corrects to "Mecca." *Cf.* Albuquerque's statement in C 10.

[8] The Maldives (see A 21, note [5]).

[9] Ram. has "Zeila," but evidently Ceylon is meant.

[10] This statement is interesting, but I cannot substantiate the truth of it. In his expedition to Malacca in 1511 Albuquerque did not touch at Ceylon, nor on his disastrous voyage back in 1512 does he appear to have landed on the island (see C 8, note [3]). If, therefore, Corsali is correct in his statement of Albuquerque's intentions, the Fates had ordained that he should never set foot in Ceylon.

C 21.

Couto IV. vi. vii.

[1515.]

...... From there [Ormuz] we[1] went to India; and the king[2] (whom God keep), being cognizant of my good services, sent me the offer of Ormuz or Ceilão, whichever I chose, which did not take effect on account of my being in the kingdom, because I left there in the year that Lopo Soarez went to India[3] ......

[1] The speaker is Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, governor of India 1526–9, who, having been sent home a prisoner, after an incarceration of two years was brought before King João II. to make his defence and have sentence passed upon him (see *Rise of Port. Power in India* 211). The passage here quoted is from his lengthy speech in his defence: he is speaking of the time when he accompanied Albuquerque on his last expedition in 1515.

[2] Dom Manuel (died 1521).

[3] That is, in 1515. He must therefore have left India in one of the homeward-bound ships at the end of that year, though the fact is mentioned by none of the historians. The king's offer to him of the captaincy of Ormuz or Ceylon must have been sent by the fleet of 1516, and so crossed him on the way. In both cases the offer was a prospective one: for the fortress at Ormuz was finished only at the end of 1515, and the one at Columbo was not built by Lopo Soares until the end of 1518 (see C 24, C 25, C 26).

C 22.

Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa.[1]

[1516 ?]

Island of Ceylam.

Leaving the islands of Mahaldiva further on towards the east, where the cape of Comory is doubled, at thirty-eight leagues from the cape itself, there is a very large and beautiful island which the Moors, Arabs, Persians, and our people[2] call Ceylam, and the

Indians call it Ylinarim. It is a rich and luxuriant land,[3] inhabited by Gentiles, and ruled by a Gentile king. Many Moors live in the sea-ports of this island in large quarters, and all the inhabitants are great merchants. There are fifty leagues of channel towards the north-east from the said cape until passing the island of Maylepur.[4] Both Moors and Gentiles are well-made men, and almost white, and for the most part stout, with large stomachs, and luxurious.[5] They do not understand nor possess arms, they are all given to trade and to good living. They go bare from the waist upwards, and below that cover themselves with good cloths of silk and cotton,[6] caps on their heads, and the ears pierced with large holes in which they wear many gold rings and jewellery,[7] so much that their very ears reach to their shoulders,[8] and many rings and precious jewels on their fingers; they wear belts of gold richly adorned with precious stones. Their language is partly Malabar and partly of Cholmendel,[9] and many Malabar Moors come to live in this island on account of its being so luxuriant, abundant, and very healthy. Men live longer here than in other parts of India.[10] They have a great deal of very good fruit; and the mountains are full of sweet and sour oranges of three or four kinds, and plenty of lemons and citrons, and many other very good fruits which do not exist in our parts, and they last all the year.[11] And there is plenty of meat and fish,[12] little rice, for most of it comes from Cholmendel,[13] and it is their chief food; much good honey and sugar brought from Bengal,[14] and butter of the country. All the good cinnamon grows in this island upon the mountains, on trees which are like laurels. And the king of the country orders it to be cut in small sticks, and has the bark stripped off[15] in certain months of the year, and sells it himself to the merchants who go there to buy it, because no one can gather it except the king.[16] There are likewise in this island many wild elephants which the king orders to be caught and tamed; and they sell them to merchants of Cholmendel, Narsynga, and Malabar, and those of the kingdoms of Decam and Cambay go to those places to buy them. These elephants are caught in this manner ...... They make great merchandize of them, and they are worth much, because they are much valued by the kings of India for[17] war and for labour, and they became as domestic and quick at understanding as men. The very good ones are worth in the Malabar country and in Cholmendel from a thousand to one thousand five hundred ducats, and the others from four to six[18] hundred ducats, according as they may be, but in the island they are to be had for a small price. And all have to be brought and presented to the king.[19] There are also many jewels in this island, rubies which they call *manica*, sapphires, jacinths, topazes, jagonzas,[20] chrysolites, and cat's eyes, which are as much esteemed amongst the Indians as rubies. And all these stones are all gathered in by the king, and sold by himself. And he has men who go and dig for them in the mountains and shores of the rivers, who are great lapidaries and who are good judges in those matters: so much so that if they have

a few handfuls of earth brought them from the mountains, at once on seeing it they know if it is of rubies or of any other stones, and where it comes from. And the king sends them to look there, and after they have brought them he orders to be set aside each kind and pick out the good ones, and he has them worked to have them sold when cut, which he does himself to foreigners; and the other inferior ones he sells at once to the country merchants ...... The king has a great treasure of these jewels, for whenever he meets with any very good stone he puts it in his treasury.[21]

Close to this island of Ceylam in the sea there is a sand-bank covered with ten or fifteen fathoms of water, in which a very great quantity of very fine seed pearls are found, small and great, and a few pearls:[22] and the Moors and Gentiles go there from a city which is called Sael,[23] belonging to the king of Coulam, to fish for this seed pearl, twice a year by custom, and they find them in some small oysters, smoother than those of our ports. And the men plunging under the water, where they remain a considerable time, pick them up: and the seed pearl is for those who gather them, and the large pearls are for the king, who keeps his overseer there, and besides that they give him certain duties upon the seed pearl.[24]

The King of Ceylan is always in a place called Columbo, which is a river with a very good port,[25] at which every year many ships touch from various parts to take on board cinnamon and elephants. And they bring gold and silver, cotton and silk stuffs from Cambay,[26] and many other goods which are saffron, coral, quicksilver, vermilion, which here is worth a great deal; and there is much profit on the gold and silver, because it is worth more than in other parts. And there come likewise many ships from Bengal and Cholmendel, and some from Malaca for elephants, cinnamon, and precious stones. In this island of Ceylam there are four or five other harbours and places of trade which are governed by other lords, nephews of the king of Ceylam, to whom they pay obedience, except that sometimes they revolt[27]...... The said island of Ceylam is very near the mainland, and between it and the continent are some banks which have got a channel in the midst, which the Indians call Chylam,[28] by which all the Malabar sambuks pass to Cholmendel. And every year many are lost upon these banks because the channel is very narrow,[29] and in the year that the Admiral of Portugal went the second time to India,[30] so many ships and sambuks of Malabar were lost in those shallows, that twelve thousand Indians were drowned there, who were coming with provisions, and were determined on driving the Portuguese fleet away from India, without allowing it to take any cargo.

[1] This first appeared in print in the form of a defective Italian translation in vol. i. of Ramusio's *Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550). The passages here given are taken from Stanley's translation of a Spanish version of Barbosa's work, issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1866. That the work was finished in 1516, as stated in the preface to the Lisbon edition, seems evident from the fact that it records no events of later date than 1515. This description of Ceylon is the earliest I

know of, written after the "discovery" of the island by the Portuguese. That given by Castanheda in lib. ii. cap. xxii. of his *Historia* is identical in most of the details, showing that he must have taken his account almost bodily from Barbosa's work.

[2] Ramusio has "of Syria" in place of "our people"—a curious error which I cannot explain.

[3] After "Indians" Ram. has "Tenarisim, which means land of delights." (On this see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Tenasserim.") The Lisbon edition has "the great island Ceilam, *where our lord the king has a fortress for trade lately built, which Lopo Soares erected when governor of India.*" The words I have italicized are an evident interpolation of the copyist's, referring, as they do, to an event that took place in 1518. Castanheda, in copying from Barbosa, alters the passage as follows: "The Arabian and Persian Moors call it Ceillão, which in their language means a thing with a channel. This name they apply to it because of the channel that divides it from the coast of the main land. The Malabars and other Indians call it Hibenaro, which means luxuriant land." With regard to this explanation of "Ceilão" see note [38] below. "Hibenaro" seems to be a misprint for "Hilenaro," which is the same as Barbosa's "Ylanarim"; and the meaning given to this name has been wrongly transferred from "Tenarisim." "Ylanarim" is by Barros spelt "Ilenare" and by Couto "Illanare," which, the latter writer says, "means in the Malabar language *the kingdom of the island.*" In reality it seems to be the Tamil *Ila-nâḍu* ("country of Ceylon"), as surmised by Burnouf (*Recherches sur la Géographie ancienne de Ceylan* 109–12).

[4] Stanley has the following footnote to this: "There is something wrong here; for, from Cape Comorin to Maylepur is more than double fifty leagues; the direction of the compass and length of the channel make it probable that the island of Manar was intended instead of Maylepur." (Besides, Maylepur was not an island, but a city, as Barbosa himself tells us further on.) But fifty leagues (say two hundred miles) in a north-easterly direction would bring us almost to Point Calimere. According to Barbosa's own statements (172–74), from Cape Comory to Quilacare was twenty leagues, thence to Cael ten leagues, thence to Cholmendar twelve leagues.

[5] I do not know what the Spanish word is that Stanley translates thus; but the Lisbon version has "muy viçosos," which means "very vigorous." Castanheda substitutes "and they hold the belly in honour."

[6] Castanheda inserts "which they call *patolas*" (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Patola").

[7] Castanheda adds "and large *aljofar*," which is absurd, as *aljofar* means "seed-pearl."

[8] Knox (*Hist. Rel.* 89) says of the Siŋhalese: "Heretofore generally they bored holes in their ears, and hung weights in them to make them grow long, like the Malabars, but this king [Rája Sinha] not boring his, that fashion is almost left off." The earliest editions of the journal of Spilbergen contain a portrait drawn from life of the then king of Kandy, Vimala Dharma Súrya, showing his ears loaded with rings and reaching to his shoulders.

[9] Cast. has: "The language of the heathen is Canara and Malabar."

[10] In Ram. this reads: "Many Malabar Moors come to reside in this island because of enjoying very great liberty, [and because] in addition to all the commodities and delights of the world, it is a country of very temperate climate, and men live there longer than in any other part of India, always healthy, and there are few that fall ill."

[11] Ram. has: "Here are produced many and excellent fruits, the mountains are covered with sweet and bitter oranges, of three or four kinds of flavour, and some have the peel sweeter than the juice and they are larger than Adam's apples; bitter-sweet lemons, some large and others small, and very sweet; and many other varieties of fruits which are not found in our parts; the trees are loaded with them all the year, and there are always to be seen flowers and fruits ripe and unripe." In Cast. this appears as: "There are also many sweet orange trees, and among them some that bear certain oranges, the peel of which is as sweet as the pulp; and there are also all the thorny trees [*i.e.*, lemons, limes, citrons, &c.], and many others very different from ours which yield divers fruits, and the whole forest consists of these trees: in which moreover there are many sweet herbs, as also basil, pellitory, and others."

[12] In Ram. this is expanded to: "There is also a very great abundance of flesh of every kind, of divers animals and birds, all delicious, and an equal abundance of fish, which are caught near the island."

[13] *Cf.* Varthema's statement in the extract *supra*, A 18.

[14] There should be a comma after "honey": only the sugar came from Bengal.

[15] Lisbon ed. adds "and dried."

[16] For the foregoing Cast. substitutes: "a great part of which [forest] is of trees from which the cinnamon is got, which has a leaf like laurels, and the bark is the cinnamon that comes hither, which is obtained from the branches after they have been cut off and dried, and this is done by the common people, who sell it for a very small price."

[17] Lisbon ed. inserts "state and for."

[18] Lisbon ed. has "five."

[19] In the Lisbon ed. this reads: "No one may catch them except the king," to which Ram. adds "who pays those that capture them." For the whole passage Cast. substitutes: "and after they are tame and understand, they are taken for sale to Malabar, Narsinga, and Cambaya, and to other parts where they are highly esteemed for war; and they sell them by the number of cubits, which they measure from the feet to the hips: and the cubit of those that are good and skilful in war is valued at a thousand gold *pardaos*, and of the others at six hundred and five hundred."

[20] Jargoons.

[21] In place of this last sentence Cast. has: "and thus he has selected all, and formed thereof a great treasure, amongst which the king who was reigning at this time was said to have a ruby a span in length and of the size of an egg, quite clear without any flaw, and giving as much light as a candle." Regarding this ruby *cf.* Andrea Corsali's statement in the previous extract (C 20).

[22] In Ram.: "where are found a very great quantity of pearls small and large, very fine, and some of them pear-shaped."

[23] A curious error for "Cael" originating in the wrong subscription of a cedilla, thus: Cael—Çael—Sael. On Cael or Káyal see *supra*, A 16, note [2].

[24] Ram. has: "they pay him a certain tribute for the license to fish." Cast. in taking over the above makes some alterations and additions, as may be seen from the following quotation: "In the channel that runs between this island and the mainland, which is eight and ten fathoms in depth, is fished a great quantity of *aljofar*, large and small pearls, and twice a year the heathen people of Calecare [Kilakarai], which is a city that lies near here, come to carry on that fishery, at the time when the king throws open the fishery, and there

go thither from two hundred to three hundred *champanas*, which are certain small vessels, in which go twenty-five and thirty men with provision for the time that they stay there .... And the large pearls ...... are for the king, who has someone there to receive them from them; and also his dues which they pay him. And the king of Ceilão loses this fishery through having no boats, for this wealth lies within the limits of his kingdom: ......"

[25] In Ram. we read: "The king of Zeilam makes his residence continuously in a city that is called Colmucho, which is situated on a river, with a good port." Of course "Colmucho" is a misreading or misprint for "Columbo."

[26] Ram. has "very fine Cambaya cloths of cotton."

[27] The foregoing passage appears in Cast. in a materially altered form, thus: "Among the ports of this island there are seven that are the principal, and they are large cities, principally Columbo, which is on the southern coast, where the king of Ceilão always resides. Other five are also on the southern coast., viz., Panatore, Verauali, Licamaon, Gabaliquamma, and Toranair. And on the northern coast is another that is called Manimgoubo. And in all these cities, which consist of thatched houses, there fall into the sea rivers some of which are very large and beautiful, which run through the island; and in them are alligators. At all these cities, principally at that of Columbo, many ships call to load with cinnamon, elephants, and precious stones, and bring gold, silver, Cambaya cloths, saffron, coral, and quicksilver. And these other cities besides that of Columbo are governed by certain rulers that call themselves kings; and so they exercise authority according to their custom: all however pay vassalage and obedience to the principal king who is in Columbo and recognize him as their seignior." The six "cities" named by Castanheda are Pánadure, Béruwala, Aḷutgama, Galle (+ Wẹligama ?), Dondra, and Negombo.

[28] The Lisbon ed. has "which the Moors and Gentiles call Ceilam"—this last word having been evolved by a series of copyist's blunders from "Chilão," thus: Chiláo—Chilão—Chilam—Ceilam. In the quotation from Castanheda in note [3] above, it will be seen that writer attributes to "Ceilão" the meaning of "channel" in Arabic and Persian.

[29] In Cast. the foregoing passage assumes the following form:— "And is separated from the mainland by a hidden bank called Chilão [*sic*], in which there are many shoals between which is a very narrow channel; and through this passage pass all the ships that go from India to Choramandel, and from there to India; and many are often lost on those shoals on account of the channel's being so narrow that only with difficulty can it be found: and therefore one of the dangers that the Indian merchants pray to God to deliver them from is the shoals of Chilão."

[30] Vasco da Gama in 1502.

C 23.

Letter of Andrea Corsali to Laurentio de Medici.[1]

[17 September 1517.[2]]

...... They fish [for pearls] at the bottom of the sea ...... as in the island of Zelan c. leagues below Calicut where are also produced topazes, jacinths, rubies, sapphires, balasses, and some

carbuncle, *lesitione*[3] (?), catseyes, and garnets and chrysolites which are there in the greatest abundance. Thence comes the good cinnamon, which is not found in other parts. This island of Zelan appears to me to be Traprobana, and not Samatora as many say, although last year I wrote to the contrary: having since then well considered the matter, I affirm that Samatora was not at that time discovered ......

[1] Like the preceding (C 20), this letter was written from India. It was printed at Florence (?) in 1518 (?), and was reprinted, with emendations, by Ramusio in the first volume of his *Navigationi*.

[2] In the original the letter is dated "15 kal. Oct. MDXVII." For this Ram. substitutes "18 September 1517," which is a day out.

[3] In original "lesitiõe," which Ram. slightly alters to "lesicione." I cannot find any word in the least like this as the name of a precious stone; and the early French translation of Corsali's letters, in tom. ii. of *Historiale Description de l'Afrique* (1556), avoids the difficulty by omitting the word. The only other translation that I know of, of Corsali's letters, viz., the German, in *General Chronicen* (1576), renders the mysterious word by "gelblichte Rubin," that is, "yellowish ruby," by which perhaps the orange-coloured spinel is meant; and if the above list of precious stones is compared with that in Corsali's first letter it will be seen that the "lesitione" of the one corresponds with the "spinette" of the other.

C 24.

Barros III. II. ii.

[1518.]

King Dom Manuel, because he had much information regarding the fertility of this island, and learnt that from it came all the cinnamon of those parts, and that the lord of Galle, by the manner in which he acted towards D. Lourenço (as we have related above[1]), desired to pay him tribute, in order to retain his friendship; and that afterwards, by means of Afonso Dalboquerque, the king of Columbo, who was the true lord of the cinnamon, wished to obtain this peace and amity,[2] wrote to the said Afonso Dalboquerque that he should go in person to this island, if he thought well, and should erect in this port of Columbo a fortress, in order by its means to secure the offerings of this king.[3] However, as Afonso Dalboquerque, whilst he lived, considered other affairs of more importance to the state of India, and that they should first be made secure, rather than this island of Ceilam, and the more so as the king supplied us very well with all the cinnamon that we needed, he dissembled with the reminders which the king sent him each year regarding this matter, giving him these and other reasons why he neglected to carry it out.[4] When Lopo Soarez came out to India he also carried this instruction[5]; and nevertheless he first proceeded to the strait of the Red Sea, which, for the reasons given by Afonso Dalboquerque, was of more importance; but seeing how little he had effected by this expedition,

on account of things having succeeded so badly, and that in that year of 1518 another captain-major and governor might arrive, he wished before his departure to leave this work completed at his hands ......

[1] See B 9.
[2] *Cf.* the extract from letter of Albuquerque *supra*, C 15.
[3] Yule, in *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Colombo," has a faulty rendering of this passage.
[4] *Cf.* the extracts from the summary of letter of Albuquerque *supra*, C 7.
[5] The instructions given to Lopo Soares on his departure for India in 1515 do not appear to be extant: at any rate, they have not been printed.

C 25.

Barros III. II. iii.

[? August 1518.]

...... And that on the way he[1] was to pass by the island of Ceilam, and from the port of Columbo, whither our people were accustomed to go to seek cinnamon,[2] he was to take pilots to carry him to Bengalla; and also that he was secretly[3] to inspect and take soundings in this port of Columbo, and the lie of the land, in order with his advice to come to a determination on what had to be done by command of the king, which was a fortress in that place,[4] the captaincy of which was to be his (Dom Joam's). Who, having set out with the four ships with which he went to the islands of Maldiva, reached Columbo, and having taken note of the place and obtained pilots, took his way for Bengalla ....

[1] Don João da Silveira, nephew to the governor Lopo Soares, who in sending him to Bengal gave him these instructions.
[2] This statement is noteworthy.
[3] Lopo Soares evidently knew that the king of Kóṭṭé was averse to the erection of a fortress at Columbo.
[4] See C 24. If, however, we may judge from Dom Manuel's instructions in regard to other fortresses, the erection was to take place with the consent of the king of Kóṭṭé. That consent was given only under compulsion; and this was probably one of the reasons that led King João III. in 1524 to order its demolition.

C 26.

Couto V. I. v.

[1517] [1518].

...... After the partition of these kingdoms had taken place,[1] there landed at this island the governor Lopo Soares in the year of Our Lord 1517,[2] and erected the fortress of Columbo, the vassalage being renewed with that king of Cota,[3] with the

obligation of three hundred *bares* of cinnamon, and twelve ruby and sapphire rings, and six elephants for the service of the dockyard at Cochim.[4] This tribute was paid for some years until it ceased entirely, as we shall relate more fully in due course.

[1] The partition referred to is that between Bhuwaneka Báhu, Rayigam Baṇḍára, and Máyádunné, consequent on the death of Vijaya Báhu in 1534: it was not *after*, but sixteen years *before*, this that Lopo Soares landed in Ceylon.

[2] In reality 1518 (see C 24).

[3] By "that king of Cota" is meant Bhuwaneka Báhu VII.; but Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. was actually the reigning monarch.

[4] As stated by Bar. (III. II. ii.).

Mr. HARWARD, at the conclusion of the Paper, read certain notes from the Appendices supporting the contentions of the writer of the Paper. The Paper, he said, had been in their hands for some time. They therefore thought it due to the author that the Paper, which was written in time for the year 1906, the quatercentenary anniversary, should not wait any longer. That was the reason why it had been read that evening.

The Hon. Mr. ARUNACHALAM said the Society was to be congratulated upon having such a learned friend as Mr. Donald Ferguson. He was sorry that he was not there in person to receive the warm thanks that all of them felt for the very interesting Paper which he had prepared with his usual great care and learning. Mr. Ferguson had collected a lot of useful information contained both in the Paper and in the Appendix. It appeared to the speaker that Mr. Ferguson had clearly established the fact that not Galle, as hitherto supposed, but Colombo was the first port at which the Portuguese called; but the speaker was not sure that Mr. Ferguson had established that 1506 was the first year in which the Portuguese came to Ceylon. It might have been the first official visit of the Portuguese; but it seemed to him strange that Mr. Ferguson made no reference whatever to the date upon the rock. Mr. Ferguson stated that the Portuguese erected at Colombo a monument. Referring to a photograph of the rock sculpture hanging on the wall, the speaker said he read on it, as also on a picture lying on the table, distinctly the date 1501. He could not understand why no reference had been made in the Paper to that carving.

Mr. HARWARD: There is a reference in the notes.

The Hon. Mr. ARUNACHALAM believed there were in the hall those who were more competent to deal with the subject than himself. He trusted they might throw some light upon the subject. A prolonged, interesting, and at times very lively discussion followed.

Mr. HARWARD, referring to the question of the date, said that the matter was fully discussed at a General Meeting which would be within the recollection of many of those present. Very great

doubt was attached to the carving on the stone on the Breakwater. It was, he thought, absolutely clear that the cross above the royal arms was by a different hand from the carving of the royal arms and date. Perhaps the date had nothing to do with the coat-of-arms which it adjoined, and might possibly have been the fancy work of somebody who carved on the rock perhaps long after the coat-of-arms was made.

Mr. C. M. FERNANDO thought the photograph was inaccurate, and that the tail of the "6" had been worn off. There was no historical mention of Ceylon having been visited by the Portuguese in 1501, and he agreed with Mr. Donald Ferguson in what he stated, that the first landing was in 1506, because it harmonized with what the historians stated. If Ceylon was discovered in 1501 six years would not have been taken to report the discovery to the king.

Mr. R. G. ANTHONISZ remarked that he had been disappointed with the former discussion which took place at a Meeting some eight years ago, at which he was present. He had more than once examined the inscription on the stone. He did not think that any one who saw the stone could imagine the characters to be other than 1501. The "5" was exactly one of those sixteenth century five's they were always coming across; and he thought that there was no "6" there at all. The cipher was perfectly clear, and there was no mark above the cipher to show that it could have at any time been a "6," part of which had since worn off.

Mr. FERNANDO pointed out that they were dealing with the "6."

The CHAIRMAN explained that the question was whether the date was 1501 or 1506.

Mr. ANTHONISZ said the last figure was clearly a "1" and nothing else. He thought that the discovery of a monument of that kind was one that suggested to them certain theories. As a piece of evidence it should not be summarily thrown aside. Mr. Donald Ferguson had fairly discussed the matter of Dom Lourenço de Almeida's arrival, and, he thought, established his contention that this took place in 1506. But he admits that Barros, Castanheda, and other historians contradict each other on certain points. Because no historian mentioned the year 1501, should they cast it aside? Monumental evidence, such as this, was very important. They had to follow historians from the date at which Vasco da Gama returned to Portugal in 1498 to that of Dom Francisco de Almeida's arrival in India in 1505. What he would like to ask was: Were they thoroughly satisfied that it was impossible for some Portuguese captive or adventurer to have found his way to Ceylon in 1501? That was the question he would like to put to any student of Portuguese history. It appeared that there were Portuguese visiting the west coast of India during this period, who came in contact with the Arabs. Pedro Alvares Cabral and his ships were at Calicut in August, 1500, and from there he proceeded to Cochin. From that time up to 1501 they were cruising about or residing at Cananor, Cochin, and Quilon. They had

many a conflict with the Arab traders. Was it beyond doubt that in these conflicts no Portuguese captives were taken by the Arabs and brought over to Ceylon? Another, in the person of João da Nova, left Portugal with a fleet in April, 1501, and in the same year he was in Cochin, and he returned to Portugal on September 11, 1502. He also had conflicts with the Arabs. It is not stated that any Portuguese captives were taken, but he thought there were possibilities that ought to bear some weight with them. In a recess under that monument some human bones had been found. He did not want to open up any romantic story about these; they may, however, take this for what it was worth. Was it altogether impossible that either one or more of the Portuguese captives had come out here? And might not one of these, in fulfilment of their Sovereign's order, have endeavoured, in the absence of a *padrão*, to cut on that boulder figures which the *padrão* was meant to represent? To say that the cross and figures were more rudely cut than the coat-of-arms ought, he thought, to carry no weight whatever. It is well known that after the care and labour taken in executing the chief part of a work of this kind, the easier portions are often hurried over with less care. Then about these bones. The man who cut that inscription may have been the man whose bones were discovered. He might have made friends with the people of the country and have begged of them to bury him under that stone in the expectation that some day his countrymen would come there to see the inscription and find the bones. He thought that a monument of that kind was very often of greater weight than history written by writers who have been found to contradict each other and to contradict themselves. It was not to be understood that what he said was meant to take away from the valuable Paper that had been read. It did not affect the Paper really, because it was a matter that was outside the Paper.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., congratulated the Society on the Paper which had been read. It was rarely that a Paper prepared with such laborious research and such conscientious care was placed before a Meeting. They were to be congratulated that one with such abilities and such opportunities as Mr. Donald Ferguson was prepared to spend his time in the investigation of the more obscure points connected with the modern history of Ceylon.

Four points had been touched upon in the Paper. No one present would contest the position claimed for Ceylon in the matter of the supply of cinnamon; that was a claim gladly conceded by all.

The Portuguese historians give ample proof of the continuance of the intercourse between the native Siŋhalese and the European foreigners up to 1518. Few will venture to deny that the commemorative *padrão* was erected in Colombo; for otherwise it is impossible to explain the very explicit assertion of de Barros that Nuno Vaz Pereira saw it there in 1508. In all probability that *padrão* is the one on the rock at the foot of the Breakwater; that

clearly is what was referred to by de Queiroz in 1687 as the original. It is significant that the word used by him is *abrir*, which cannot possibly refer to an *erection*, but to an *engraving*. The *padrão* was *engraved* on a rock; that is why the Moors lit a fire to destroy it, instead of pulling it down; and that fire accounts for its present damaged condition. The date 1501 the speaker was not prepared to discuss. It is amusing as well as significant to note that the attempt now is to read it as 1506. That date was the subject of much correspondence, and till now the only variation on 1501 which had been suggested was 1561. This shows how easy it is to create evidence, given a theory which one is anxious to prove. Mr. Anthonisz has declared that he has frequently examined the stone, and that the date was never meant to be anything other than 1501. It would require a good deal to convince the speaker that Mr. Anthonisz was wrong.

When, however, Mr. Ferguson desires to establish 1506 as the date of the arrival of Almeida in Ceylon, displacing the long-established 1505, it is desirable to be critical in examining the evidence, and cautious in arriving at a conclusion. Such criticism cannot of course at this stage pretend to anything like exhaustiveness; indeed, the complete proof of the Paper had not reached the speaker till the previous night. But even the short examination to which the Paper had been subjected revealed certain points which should not be overlooked.

The evidence collected by Mr. Ferguson is both negative and positive in its nature, and the negative will be discussed first.

On September 13 Dom Francisco arrived at Anjadiva, near Goa. After erecting a fortress there, he left for Onor on October 16; this town he destroyed, and reaching Cananor on the 22nd he began a fortress there. He next proceeded to Cochin, which he reached on October 30, and from there he despatched Lourenço to Coulao, not far from Travancore, with a punitive force which bombarded the place, probably on November 1.

It is accepted as definitely settled that the homeward bound fleet of eight vessels left Cananor in two divisions, on the 2nd and 21st January, 1506, respectively. It is also clear that the first of these ships left Cochin for the headquarters at Cananor about November 26, 1505. Castanheda states that it was in November that Lourenço started for the Maldives. On this the writer remarks: "Had Dom Francisco so acted, he would have been guilty of a breach of the king's instructions, according to which he was to send out expeditions of discovery *after* the dispatch of the cargo ships for Portugal." On examining the text of the instructions (A 19) the speaker is of opinion that it is unreasonable to attach so much weight to the word "after." The Commander of this important expedition had surely a moderate amount of discretion vested in him? He was at a friendly port close to Ceylon and on the most cordial terms with the raja, to whom he had just presented a crown of gold from his king. Cargo for his ships was being quickly provided. The weather was most favourable for sailing south, indeed so much so as to seriously interfere with ships sailing north. It

had been found possible to detach a flotilla for operations at Coulao; and that flotilla was victorious and unoccupied. What reason was there against its continuing its journey to Ceylon and the Maldives? It must be remembered that the king's instructions had also said: "We think well that .... not having need of all the vessels that are to remain with you, you send a pair of caravels .... to discover Ceylam." Granted such a favourable opportunity as would have been available at the beginning of November, it would rather appear strange if Francisco did not seize the chance to send out the ships he was in a position to spare on a voyage of discovery. It is difficult to see in such an act on his part any infringement of the spirit of his instructions.

In the footnote on page 297 it is urged as a further argument against the accepted date that had Lourenço started in November, 1505, it would have been mentioned in the viceroy's letter to the king written from Cochin on December 16, 1505. Unfortunately the text of this letter is not accessible, nor is there any information in the Paper as to the frequency with which the viceroy wrote to the king in November-December, 1505. It is the fact, as shown in the *Documentos Remettidos*, that several letters bearing the same date were frequently despatched by the king to the viceroy. Need it excite surprise if the viceroy waited for the *result* of an expedition, which would only occupy a few weeks, before communicating the matter to the king? Here the words of Correa (B 10) are significant: "The which he also gave to Diogo d'Almeida because he had to relate the deed of his son, which had happened in Ceylão; *which he did not wish to write of to the king*, it being a personal matter, and he considering it a breach of his honour if he should seem to glorify himself, and saying that a man of good breeding should not relate his own actions."

The writer himself does not appear to have a high opinion of the probative value of even a categorical assertion contained in the viceroy's letters, for in a note on page 312 he remarks: "I confess that this passage in the summary of the viceroy's letter puzzles me. The statements in it are not borne out by any of the historians .... it is strange that nowhere else is this fact mentioned .... *Perhaps the summarist has misinterpreted the viceroy's words.*" (The italics are mine.) If such is the value of a definite statement by the viceroy, the weight to be attached to a not unreasonable omission is *nil.*

Castanheda, who gives the date of Lourenço's expedition to Ceylon as November, 1505, continues that shortly after his return he was made captain-major of the sea and placed in charge of the Malabar Coast. The writer accepts the latter statement as correct, and he is prepared to receive the details given by this historian as more to be relied on than those of other writers referred to by him in his notes; and he thus succeeds in showing us how Lourenço was engaged throughout February and March. Castanheda further relates that Vasco Gomes de Abreu and another were despatched in February to Portugal, taking with them the cinnamon which had been brought from

Ceylon, as well as an elephant. On this the writer says: "That these two men sailed from India for Portugal in February is confirmed by *Barros*, and that they carried cinnamon and an elephant is possible; but these had absolutely no connection with any expedition to Ceylon, none having as yet taken place." I believe this kind of argument is styled by logicians *petitio principii*. When it is admitted that certain details contained in a statement made *bona fide* by an unprejudiced narrator are correct, we are not entitled to arbitrarily reject those other details which are not in consonance with any pre-conceived theories. Certainly the reasons given by the writer are far from convincing. He says: "Had Vasco Gomes de Abreu been the bearer of such important tidings as that Ceylon had been discovered, it is certain that King Manuel would not have waited some nine or ten months before informing the pope." This information was conveyed in a letter dated September 25, 1507. The exact date of de Abreu's arrival is not known. The writer conjectures that it was "at the end of 1506 or the beginning of 1507," and this latter date I am prepared to accept; but it appears to me to be suspending his argument on an excessively attenuated cord to depend on the date of the communication of the news to one who was merely in the position of a friendly potentate. The Paper does not show that it was the accepted custom to communicate similar news immediately it was received. The communication was purely an act of courtesy, and courtesy in Portugal was at the time the most ponderous and slow-moving in Europe. Indeed, it is manifest from the letter itself that it was *not* considered necessary to keep the Holy See in immediate touch with what was being done by the Portuguese adventurers; in fact, this was manifestly the first letter written with reference to the doings of Francisco de Almeida, who had started on March 25, 1505! "Cui jam cognitum arbitramur misisse nos *superioribus annis* pro nobis viceregem," &c. Clearly no formal intimation of the departure of de Almeida for the East had been sent to Rome till now. "We believe it is already known to you that some years back we dispatched as our viceroy," &c. The letter then continues to state that after several encounters with the enemy he sent "his son Dom Laurentius de Almeida with a flotilla to attack the sea coasts and the territories of our enemies, who also according to his instructions visited the far-famed island of Taprobana." If language means anything, this letter means that the attack on the enemies' coasts (clearly the bombardment of Coulão) and the visit to Ceylon formed one expedition. Is it possible that the authority relied on by the writer has destroyed his case? But without going so far as to say that, it is suggested that no argument should be deduced from the date of the letter to the pope.

The last objection brought forward by the writer is this: Payo de Sousa and Fernão Cotrim are mentioned as having been among the envoys sent by Lourenço to the king; but Payo de Sousa could not have reached Ceylon before May, 1506, nor Fernão Cotrim

till later still. But the very two pages in which he discusses this point (pp. 302 and 310) furnish abundant reason for not attaching too much weight to names; the confusion is hopeless, and it is most unsafe to build any argument on their identification. Nor can it be regarded as definitely settled who the envoys were. Indeed, even a careful writer like de Couto is not free from errors. There is one passage where he has mixed up the names of two of the kings of Ceylon; in another he has given to Diogo de Silva Modeliar the Christian name of *Pedro* in place of Diogo. The writer is himself fully aware of this danger. On page 300 he points out, of the historian Correa, that "he names as taking part in it (a sea fight) men who had already left India or had not yet arrived there."

So much for the negative evidence brought forward by the writer. He admits that the weather would have prevented any voyage of discovery from April to August, and he continues: "Dom Francisco de Almeida in August charged his son Dom Lourenço with this expedition. Accordingly, at the end of August or beginning of September, 1506, Dom Lourenço set sail with a number of vessels." At the same time he admits that such a proceeding at such a period of the year displays a strange ignorance of the navigation of the Indian Ocean. The speaker was not prepared to presume such ignorance, especially in view of the definite assertion of de Barros that the voyage was undertaken at a time when the monsoon was favourable for the journey, and the fact that in 1519 the Portuguese expedition started at the proper season, while it is also stated that Lourenço had good Indian pilots.

What positive evidence is there then in support of the new theory? On page 297 Mr. Ferguson says: "As a matter of fact it was neither at the end of 1505 nor at the beginning of 1506 that Dom Lourenço set out." On page 298, referring to the elephant and cinnamon taken by de Abreu, he says: "these had absolutely no connection with any expedition to Ceylon, none having as yet taken place," *i.e.*, by February, 1506. On page 299 he says: "However Dom Lourenço was employed until his appointment in January or February, 1506, as captain-major of the sea, we may be sure that he did not visit Ceylon." On page 306 we are informed as a matter of fact that he started at a very improbable time, the end of August or beginning of September, 1506. And on page 308 he triumphantly concludes: "we have seen that Castanheda is utterly wrong with regard to the date of the discovery of Ceylon." All these are assertions, and the actual evidence appears to consist of two points. The first is relegated to a note on page 308, which says that the expedition is referred to in a letter from the viceroy dated December 27, 1506, a summary of the letter itself being given in the Appendix B 2. It must, however, be remembered that despatches to Portugal could only be sent at one period of the year; there is nothing in any way surprising if a detailed report was sent in December, 1506, as supplementary to the information sent through de Abreu. The summary assigns no date to the expedition, and I can see very

little justification in it for settling upon the date now put forward by the writer, and, as will be indicated later, the king had information of the "discovery" long before this letter was written.

Next we have the letter quoted in B 1, on the authority of which the whole theory ultimately rests. This letter was written by Gaspar da India on November 16, 1506, to King Manuel, and in it the writer makes Lourenço de Almeida say "at the time I was about to leave for Ceilaom your son had left for Malaca, and my father was sending you to the port of Batecala." On the authority of the same writer the dates of these two events are fixed respectively as being August 22, 1506, and September 1, 1506. If these dates are correct, we are within reasonable distance of the correct date of Lourenço's expedition. But unfortunately on page 305 the writer of the article has definitely proved that the second date cannot be correct, and on page 313 he says of *Gaspar da India*, "In view of the disreputable character of the writer, we might be inclined to regard his statements regarding this expedition (one to *Ormuz* under Dom Lourenço) as fiction."

Surely it is most dangerous to base any theory on the boastful assertion of a writer of admitted unreliability? And it appears to be a fact worthy of the gravest comment that, though the letter is dated November 16, 1506, the passage quoted in the note reads "on the 16th of November Dom Lourenço called me to his room."

I have already commented on the inference which might be drawn from the king's letter to the pope; that letter contains certain minute details, regarding which the writers says: "I see no reason to doubt what Correa tells us, that Dom Francisco sent to Portugal a man who had accompanied the expedition to Ceylon." And he refers us to the Appendix B 10. In that passage Correa adds that the viceroy loaded the ships which were then starting, and in which this messenger sailed, with the cinnamon brought by his son, as well as a small elephant, *which was the first that ever went to Portugal.* Correa is clearly referring to the mission of de Abreu, which has already been discussed. If the writer accepts one portion of Correa's narrative, that regarding the messenger, as correct, I fail to see his justification for rejecting the accompanying portion, merely because it is absolutely incompatible with his theory.

The despatch of that messenger explains a good deal. It is undisputed that when the king gave his instructions of March 5, 1505, Ceilão was an unknown country. An expedition was to be sent to "discover" it; but the state of affairs is quite different when we turn to the letter A 21, which is assigned by the writer to the period March–April, 1506. It may be conceded that that letter was written about April, but I am of opinion that it was April, 1507, and not April, 1506, and for the following reason. Every line of this letter shows that the king was no longer ignorant about Ceylon; he knew of the position of the island, of its importance to India, its wealth and products, the desirability of establishing a fortress there; how it lay in the track of ships sailing to

particular countries, "lying in the track of all the ships of Malaca and Bymgalla, and none being able to pass without being seen and known of in that part; and being near to the archipelago of the xij islands." He knew how far the fortress to be built would be from India, and that that fortress would be a convenient centre for the king's representative in the East; "since it appears that from here you can better provide for and assist in all things than from any other part, on account of your being in the centre of all the fortresses and things that we have there." Surely the man who wrote that had ample knowledge of Ceylon and was in no need of any further discovery! Clearly that information had been conveyed by the messenger sent with de Abreu; and when the viceroy's letter of December 27, 1506, reached Portugal, the king's letter (A 21) must have been in the Indian Ocean. This letter and that to the pope appear to me to have completely destroyed Mr. Ferguson's theory, and vindicated the accuracy of Castanheda and Correa, sufficiently so, at any rate, to make them preferable guides to the "disreputable" and vainglorious Gaspar da India.

The writer frankly admits that according to his theory he cannot account for the manner in which Dom Lourenço de Almeida was engaged from the beginning of November, 1505, until his appointment in January or February, 1506, as captain-major. But the greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon, de Queiróz, says he can. He relates that de Almeida landed first at Galle, and thence made his way to Colombo, where he arrived on November 15, 1505. The speaker could see no reason to doubt the correctness of de Queiróz's statement.

Mr. E. W. Perera said: It would be an interesting point to fix the Sovereign in whose reign the Portuguese first landed in Ceylon (see note on page 309 of the Paper). The current Siŋhalese tradition is that it was Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. It is significant that in a *sannasa* of that king the commencement of his reign is dated 1501.* The memory of the march of the Portuguese envoys by a long and circuitous route is preserved among the people, not only in the proverb noted by Mr. Ferguson on page 310, but by a fairly circumstantial account of the journey itself. The object of the Siŋhalese was to conceal from the stranger the proximity of the capital to the bay of Colombo, and for "three months and three weeks" (*tun mas tun poya*) the envoys with their Siŋhalese guides tramped by way of Negombo and across the country through Hanwella to Kóṭṭé, till the report of the guns in the harbour announced to the Portuguese in the city their nearness to the sea.

G. Legend tells that Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. was warned in a dream of the advent of the Portuguese. The mystic jingle

* The translation of the Munessaram *sannasa* filed in P. C. case, Chilaw, No. 15,482 (decided in appeal on January 25, 1900), gives two dates of this king's accession, 1501 and 1505, the former corresponding to the Saka era and the latter to the Buddhist era date in the grant.—E. W. P. [See footnote on page 399.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

*Kóṭṭé kalále data mẹda gan kisille** rang in the king's ears at night in his sleep, and the following morning, haunted by the words, he inquired their import from his sages and counsellors. The words properly broken up contained the injunction, "Enough your love for Kóṭṭé: remove the tooth-relic to the middle country quickly." A few days after, the announcement of the arrival of the Portuguese proved the accuracy of the prophecy!

Mr. F. LEWIS proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Donald Ferguson for his very able and interesting Paper.

Mr. T. P. ATTYGALLE seconded.

The PRESIDENT, after putting the vote, which was carried by acclamation, expressed surprise that Mr. Pieris and other Siṇhalese gentlemen present did not give them any information from Siṇhalese annals. It was astonishing that the question at issue could not be settled by a reference to Siṇhalese chronicles as to when the strange white men from the West were first seen in Ceylon. He certainly thought it strange that the Portuguese should have been so close to Ceylon as Calicut, Cochin, and even Quilon from 1498 onwards, and yet never have broken through the Moorish fleets and got to Ceylon for eight years. It would be very interesting to hear what Mr. Donald Ferguson had to say on the full discussion when he was able to read it. (*See below.*)

Mr. ARUNACHALAM next proposed a vote of thanks to the President. In regard to the President's observation *re* the delay of eight years, at that time Arabs were the masters of the Eastern seas and the Portuguese perhaps were in fear of them. In regard to Siṇhalese evidence, Mr. Donald Ferguson had quoted the *Rájávaliya.* He had also quoted a Tamil chronicle.

The PRESIDENT said his point was that the Siṇhalese gentlemen who had taken part in the discussion had not brought any Siṇhalese evidence in support of what they said.

This concluded the Meeting.

REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION BY MR. DONALD FERGUSON.

Several of the speakers referred to the inscribed boulder discovered in 1898 near the Colombo Breakwater.

Mr. Arunachalam complained that in my Paper I had made no reference to the date on this rock. But that the four characters form a *date* is just what I want proved: I am extremely doubtful on the point. In any case, I cannot believe that the last character ever was a 6, as Mr. C. M. Fernando surmised.†

---

* කෝට්ටේ=කෝට්ටේට ; කලාලෙ=කල ආලෙ (ඇත); දත=දන්තධාතුව ; මැද=මධ්‍යම ප්‍රදෙශට ; ගන්=ගන්න ; කිසිල්ලෙ=කඩිනමින්.

† I am at a disadvantage in being unable to examine the rock *in situ*, and in having to depend on a photograph of only a portion of the boulder.—D. F.

Mr. Anthonisz's theory is very romantic, but has not a shred of evidence to support it.

I now come to Mr. P. E. Pieris's criticisms, for which I am grateful, as they afford me the opportunity of adducing further evidence in support of my " theory "—as he calls it, though I assure him I entered on the investigation with an open mind.

Mr. Pieris accepts three of my four contentions, and with regard to the third says : " Few will venture to deny that the commemorative *padrão* was erected in Colombo ; ...... In all probability that *padrão* is the one on the rock at the foot of the Breakwater ; that clearly is what was referred to by de Queiróz in 1687 as the original. It is significant that the word used by him is *abrir*, which cannot possibly refer to an *erection*, but to an *engraving*. The *padrão* was *engraved* on a rock; that is why the Moors lit a fire to destroy it, instead of pulling it down ; and that fire accounts for its present damaged condition." On which I would remark that I should have supposed Mr. Pieris to be aware of the fact that *padrão* means a *pillar*, and that all three of the great Portuguese historians of India agree in stating that a *pillar* was *erected*. (Regarding Queiróz I shall speak later.)

My fourth contention, that the " discovery " of Ceylon by Dom Lourenço de Almeida took place in September 1506, Mr. Pieris rejects, accepting instead Castanheda's statement that it occurred in November 1505. In support of this Mr. Pieris advances certain propositions, by which he seeks to damage my " case." In the first place he tries to show that D Francisco would not have been guilty of a breach of the royal instructions in sending his son on a voyage of discovery *before* the cargo ships had been dispatched for Portugal, and to support this gives a garbled quotation from those instructions—which is hardly honest. Mr. Pieris also thinks that " The commander of this important expedition had surely a moderate amount of discretion vested in him ? " Perhaps so; but not in regard to that part of the royal commands : the dispatch of the cargo ships was the business that had to be first attended to. That D. Lourenço was sent by his father at the end of October 1505 to avenge the massacre at Coulam is no argument in support of Mr. Pieris's theory. When he speaks of the possibility of D. Lourenço's avenging fleet " continuing its journey to Ceylon and the Maldives," he is throwing over even Castanheda, who distinctly states that D. Lourenço returned from Coulam to Cochin. Mr. Pieris seems to think that the viceroy could easily have sent out an exploring expedition at any time after his arrival in India. Such, however, was not the case, a large number of his men being sick, owing to the voyage, change of climate and food, &c. (see the letter of Gonçalo Fernandes in *Cartas* ii. 381-85).

The omission by the viceroy to mention in his letter of 16 December 1505 to the king the fact that he had sent his son to the Maldives and Ceylon, Mr. Pieris attempts to explain in several ways. He says (1) that D. Francisco may have mentioned it in another letter. He may (if D. Lourenço had really been sent ere then) ;

but no record of any such letter exists. Then he says (2) that the viceroy would probably wait until he learnt the result of the expedition, "which would only occupy a few weeks, before communicating the matter to the king." Very probably; but this contradicts the previous proposition; and as to the "few weeks," Castanheda, as I have stated in my Paper, implies that D. Lourenço did not return from Ceylon until the end of January or beginning of February 1506, which makes the expedition last certainly more than "a few weeks." Finally, Mr. Pieris would apparently have it, on the authority of Correa, that the viceroy did not write to the king at all regarding the expedition, but sent a messenger to report it by word of mouth: which hypothesis, again, destroys the one first advanced.

With regard to Mr. Pieris's next assertion, I have only to remark that to accuse me of casting doubt on a statement in a *letter* of the viceroy's, when in fact I suggested that the summarist of the letter (*which itself does not exist*) had perhaps misinterpreted the viceroy's words, is either gross carelessness or something worse. If we had the viceroy's letter itself, all our doubts as to the time of year when the "discovery" of Ceylon took place would probably be resolved.

Before I proceed to reply to Mr. Pieris's further criticisms, I would take this opportunity to adduce soms fresh evidence in confutation of Castanheda's statements regarding D. Lourenço's expedition. That writer, as I have said, leads us to believe that it was early in November 1505 that D. Lourenço left for the Maldives and Ceylon, and that he did not return thence to Cochin before the end of January 1506. Now, from the letter of Gaspar Pereira to the king, referred to on page 295 of my Paper, we learn that on 26 December 1505 D. Lourenço returned to Cochin in the *Flor de la mar* from *Cananor*, whither the viceroy had sent him to load that ship for Portugal. When D. Lourenço left Cochin for Cananor we do not know; but it must have been previous to 18 December, with which day Gaspar Pereira's letter commences. (It is most unfortunate that his first letter to the king has perished.) Therefore, if the expedition to Ceylon had already taken place, D. Lourenço must have returned from that island in ample time for his father to report its "discovery" to the king by the ships that left for Portugal in January 1506. That he did not do so seems absolutely certain. Further, Castanheda states that from Coulam D. Lourenço returned to Cochin. On the other hand, Barros says that from Coulam D. Lourenço proceeded to Caecoulão (Káyankulam), where he left some ships to be loaded with pepper. This seems to be borne out by Gaspar Pereira, who says that on 31 December Nuno Vaz Pereira arrived in his galley at Cochin, and reported, among other things, that Gonçalo de Paiva and Antão Vaz were anchored off "Caycoulam." (On the same day there arrived at Cochin a ship laden with cinnamon, which spice was transferred to the *S. Gabriel* for transmission to Portugal; and the viceroy is said to have expected to get further supplies by native vessels. Not a word, however, is said of any cinnamon brought

from Ceylon by D. Lourenço.) Gaspar Pereira refers several times to D. Lourenço, and tells us that the viceroy promised the king of Cochin that his son should go with an armada to protect all native vessels except those of Calicut. We also read that the king of Cochin warned the viceroy and D. Lourenço that the Samuri was preparing a big fleet to attack the Portuguese. Taking Gaspar Pereira's letter with the statements of Castanheda and Barros, I think it is reasonable to suppose that it was immediately after his return from Coulam and Caycoulam that D. Lourenço was sent by his father to Cananor, the more so, as Gaspar Pereira says that on 31 December 1505 the king of Cochin saw D. Lourenço *for the first time*, which shows that he could not have made any long stay in Cochin previously. His prolonged stay at Cananor was due, doubtless, to the fact that a fortress was being erected at that place, not without opposition from the inhabitants, as we learn from Gaspar Pereira.

To return to Mr. Pieris's criticisms. He argues that if I accept any of Castanheda's statements as correct, I must accept the whole: this is strange, coming from one who avowedly rejects Castanheda's distinct assertion that Galle was the port where D. Lourenço erected the *padrão*.

Mr. Pieris says that to King Manuel the pope was " merely in the position of a friendly potentate"—an assertion contrary to the fact; and that " it is manifest from the [king's] letter itself that it was *not* considered necessary to keep the Holy See in immediate touch with what was being done by the Portuguese adventurers"—which is really too feeble to deserve a reply. By altering the punctuation and mistranslating the words of King Manuel's letter to the pope, Mr. Pieris tries to bolster up his theory that " the bombardment of Coulão and the visit to Ceylon formed one expedition." Of the first event the king learnt in May 1506, on the arrival at Lisbon of the fleet of Fernão Soares, and he gave an account of it in his letter to Cardinal Alpedrinha (see my Paper, App., A 22): if the expedition to Ceylon had taken place, why is there no mention of this important fact in that letter? In his letter of 25 September 1507 to the pope King Manuel naturally does not repeat information which had been *printed* in Rome nearly a year before, but dismisses the Coulam affair and others with the words " factis plurimis in hostes excursionibus." The following words, " proxime dominum Laurentium de Almeida filium armata classe misit ad infestanda hostium litora ac terras," certainly refer to D. Lourenço's mission on coastguard duty and to nothing else. Then follows the statement regarding the expedition to Ceylon. I think it is not I but Mr. Pieris who has " destroyed his case."

Being unable to answer my arguments as to Payo de Sousa and Fernão Cotrim, Mr. Pieris tries to turn the tables on me by referring to what I have said as to confusion of names. Mr. Pieris had better settle the matter with Castanheda, and let me know the result.

Mr. Pieris says he " is not prepared to presume such ignorance of the navigation of the Indian Ocean " on the part of the viceroy as is shown in his dispatching his son on an expedition to the Maldive islands and Ceylon at one and the same time. That Barros was mistaken on this point is likely, the expedition being probably intended for the Maldives only; but that the dispatch took place at the wrong time of year for reaching those islands is evident, since the ships were carried by the currents to Ceylon. As to the " good Indian pilots," it is only Correa that applies the adjective to them. which seems hardly justified under the circumstances.

Mr. Pieris next proceeds to demonstrate (or thinks he does so) that the whole of the actual evidence for my " theory " consists in the statements in the summary of the viceroy's letter of 27 December 1506, and that of Gaspar da India of 16 November 1506. With regard to the former he says:—" It must, however, be remembered that despatches to Portugal could only be sent at one period of the year; there is nothing in any way surprising if a detailed report was sent in December, 1506, as supplementary to the information sent through de Abreu." On which I would remark that the first statement is not correct, and that the second is mere " theory."

Not being able to controvert the statement of Gaspar da Gama. Mr. Pieris delightedly seizes hold of my description of the man as having a " disreputable character," and adds: " Surely it is most dangerous to base any theory on the boastful assertion of a writer of admitted unreliability ? " Apparently Mr. Pieris wishes it to be thought that I had admitted the unreliability of the bigamous "Christian" Jew; for in the previous paragraph he has, characteristically, garbled my words by omitting the end of the sentence. I do not admit the unreliability of Gaspar da Gama's statements of *facts* such as the one in question. What earthly purpose could it serve for him to invent such a statement in a letter to the king ?

The height of absurdity is reached when Mr. Pieris solemnly continues:—" And it appears to be a fact worthy of the gravest comment that, though the letter is dated November 16, 1506, the passage quoted in the note reads ' on the 16th of November Dom Lourenço called me to his room.' " The explanation is very simple. The letter, like many contemporary ones, was written in instalments at various times; and when the writer penned the above sentence he did not know that he would have to bring his epistle to a hurried close the same evening. So Mr. Pieris has made a mountain out of a molehill.

In the same way Mr. Pieris makes much of the apparent discrepancy between the statement of Gaspar da Gama and the date of the viceroy's license to Gaspar Pereira. It is " much ado about nothing," since the viceroy's order might well have been given on September 1, and yet not carried out until some days later. (Gaspar da Gama's words are capable of that construction.)

Once more Mr. Pieris falls foul of me because I say that " I see no reason to doubt what Correa tells us, that Dom Francisco sent

to Portugal a man who had accompanied the expedition to Ceylon," while at the same time I reject other statements of the same writer's. If it is a crime to sift evidence, accept what is borne out by other testimony, and reject that which is palpably absurd or incapable of proof, I plead guilty to being a criminal.

Mr. Pieris goes on to make the astounding assertion that " It is undisputed [!] that when the king gave his instructions of March 5, 1505, Ceilão [*sic*] was an unknown country. An expedition was to be sent to 'discover' it;" and, starting with this " theory," he proceeds to show to his own satisfaction that King Manuel's letter quoted by me in App. A 21 was written in 1507, and not in 1506, building on this hypothesis a very pretty house of cards, which at once falls to pieces when I tell him that the first part of the letter treats of the duties assigned to Tristão da Cunha, " *now setting out*, ... and Affonso d'Alboquerque who goes with him." So that Mr. Pieris's " opinion" as to the date of the letter is worthless, and it is he that has destroyed his own theory.

The last paragraph of Mr. Pieris's lengthy criticism runs as follows:—"The writer frankly admits that according to his theory he cannot account for the manner in which Dom Lourenço de Almeida was engaged from the beginning of November, 1505, until his appointment in January or February, 1506, as captain-major. But the greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon, de Queiróz, says he can. He relates that de Almeida landed first at Galle, and thence made his way to Colombo, where he arrived on November 15, 1505. The speaker could see no reason to doubt the correctness of de Queiróz's statement." Evidently this was the trump card that Mr. Pieris had up his sleeve the whole time, with which to confound me in the end. Well, I will at once confess that he has the advantage of me, since, except for the last portion, which was printed by Mr. F. H. de Vos some years ago, the work of Fernão de Queiróz, " the greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon" [!!!], remains in manuscript, and is inaccessible to me. Why does not Mr. Pieris give this writer's statement in his own words, so that we may judge what value is to be attached to them? Whence did Queiróz, who wrote so late as 1687, obtain his facts?

In the opening paragraph of his criticism Mr. Pieris referred to another statement by Queiróz, of which, in like manner, he failed to give the *ipsissima verba*. In the Ceylon As. Soc. Jl. for 1899, on page 23, is printed what purports to be an extract from the work of Queiróz, which is absolutely unintelligible. Why does not Mr. Pieris print this work in full, with a translation?

Mr. E. W. Perera refers to a *sannasa* that gives the initial date of the reign of Parákrama Báhu IX. as 1501 Saka. Is this *sannasa* genuine? * The traditions he quotes in connection with the

* The *sannasa* (if the translation filed in P. C., Chilaw, 15,482, be correct) stands condemned as not genuine by intrinsic evidence. It reads: " In the year of the holy Gautama Buddha 2060; in the year of the great King Saka 1135; in the 12th year of the lord Chakrawarti

first arrival of the Portuguese are interesting, though evidently legendary.

The President's questions were answered to a large extent by Mr. Arunachalam; though I do not think that fear of the Arabs (? Moors) was what deterred the Portuguese from visiting Ceylon between 1498 and 1506. The real reasons were: paucity of ships, the hostility of the Calicut Moors, and mainly the fact that sufficient cinnamon was obtainable at Cochin and Cananor by means of native vessels. There can be no doubt that sentiment played a large part in moving King Manuel to order his viceroy to "discover" Ceylon.

Wansai Nirabut Nawkabáhu [*sic* (?) Víra Bhuvaneka Báhu—B.], on Friday, the 7th of the increasing moon of the month Poson. It was granted, &c. ...... Thus the *tudapat* and copper plates were granted by order of the powerful great King Prákramabáhu.'"

Buddha Varsha 2060, Poson, = A.D. 1516, June–July; Ṣaka Varsha 1435, Poson, = A.D. 1513, June–July, a difference of three years. According to the rock record at Kelaṇiya temple, Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX. "ascended the throne of Laṇká" in B. V. 2051 = A.D. 1507–8. His predecessor was Víra Parákrama Báhu VIII.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

H. C. COTTLE, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, COLOMBO, CEYLON.